

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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POPE BENEDICT, WHO INVOKES PEACE UPON THE WARRING NATIONS

Benedict XV., whose pontificate began within a month after the war broke out, has repeatedly urged the belligerents to take steps towards peace. In the Lenten season of 1916 he characterized the war as "the suicide of civilized Europe." In June of that year the Papal Secretary of State made it known that the Pope would welcome mediation on the part of the United States or of Spain. In December he denounced "the horrible madness of the conflict which is devastating Europe." His recent appeal to the belligerents, which bears the date of August 1, 1917, virtually suggests the restoration of the status quo as regards territory.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

Making Belligerency Active

Having accepted the view that it was our duty to recognize a state of war between the United States and Germany, the question naturally arose how we could best help to make the right triumph and to restore peace to suffering peoples. In the first place, we adopted the idea that our belligerency must be active rather than passive. Second, Congress and the people supported the President in the judgment that we could be most immediately efficient by supplying the British, French, and other Allies with money and credit, food, general supplies, and merchant ships. The country sustained the Navy Department in the view that we must cooperate in every way to circumvent or fight the German submarines. The banking and investment elements heartily supported the Administration in floating the first Liberty Loan, and are ready to make a success of the still larger one that is soon to be offered. Congress and the country accepted the judgment of the War Department that the regular army should be recruited to its full war strength, and that the National Guard should be similarly developed and taken completely into the federal service.

National Support of the War

There came the great national test when the nation accepted not only the principle of universal military service as embodied in the Selective Draft law, but when the people, with hardly any friction, cheerfully joined in making the great enrollment complete, and submitted to the subsequent process of examination and selection. Hardly anything so impressive in the history of the American democracy has been recorded to the country's credit as the patriotism and good faith shown in the processes last month of designating the young men who are the first to

be selected for the new National Army. Upon the whole, the Government at Washington has shown creditable energy; has selected trustworthy and capable men to direct the new activities; has exhibited initiative, as illustrated by such brilliant projects as the aviation program; has earned the support and confidence of the leading men of the country, whether known as public personages or occupied with professions and private pursuits. Many matters of great delicacy have been adjusted by the President with remarkable skill, as witness the reshaping, several weeks ago, of the personnel and methods of the Shipping Board and the Emergency Fleet Corporation. Particular undertakings have been justified by their success—as shown, for instance, in the valuable results of the mission of Mr. Root and his colleagues to Russia. New men of capacity have already been brought to the front and assigned places of extraordinary discretion, as witness Mr. Herbert Hoover, in charge of the new Food Administration; Mr. Frank A. Scott, of Cleveland, as chairman of the War Industries Board, and Mr. Howard Coffin, at the head of the Aircraft Production Board.

Steps in Military Organization

On the military side, the organization and results of the officers' training camps have been creditable in the highest degree. Through intensive methods we have created a remarkable body of intelligent junior officers, of fine enthusiasm and high personal character, capable of giving good training to the hundreds of thousands of selected young men of the new National Army who will enter the cantonments. Elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW there is presented an extended and illustrated account of these magical new military cities that have been built within a few weeks, some of which will be finished

for occupancy on the day when this magazine reaches its readers, while the others will be ready within a few days or weeks. Every one of these permanent camps has engaged the skill of sanitary engineers as well as that of architectural and military experts. It is intended to make the period of sojourn in these camps not merely contributory to the defensive strength of the nation, but beneficial to the young men themselves in their physical, mental, and moral development. As a result of the intensive work of the officers' training camps and the methods that will be worked out for thirty-two great cantonments, we shall within a year have laid the foundations upon which to build a system of universal training for national defense and good citizenship. The way to make these things a success is to support them with courage and zeal, believing that they can be used for high purposes and to constructive rather than destructive ends. We propose to make America strong, for justice, order, and righteous peace.

*The Great
Object—To
End War*

All this being true, we must not forget how terrible and exhausting is warfare, and how necessary it is to stop the war at the earliest possible moment consistent with honorable principles. Those who are now engaged to the full absorption of all their thought and energy in these vast military preparations, having been given their war tasks at the mandate of the nation, cannot be expected to be thinking in terms of the onlooking and gentlemanly peacemaker. They are now bound to think in terms of war, because we went to war only when we had exhausted peace arguments and peace appeals. This does not seem to be a time when the nations are prepared for the definite discussion of peace proposals. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that last winter there were only two possible sources of influential peace activity, one being the American Presidency and the other the Roman Catholic Papacy. For the past five months we have been numbered among the fighting powers; and the Pope is the only personage in the world now remaining who has sufficient influence from the standpoint of neutrality and the higher interests of humanity, to make a fresh appeal for peace and to lay down the principles upon which lasting reconciliation may be accomplished. Those whose duty it is to push the war cannot be expected at all times to be ready for the discussion of peace. But in countries governed

by public opinion the people themselves ought always to be living in consciousness of peace aims and objects. And organs of public opinion ought to take their part courageously and without flinching in all such discussions, with a view to shortening the duration of war if possible. When, therefore, peace is discussed in the German Reichstag, is labored for by European Socialists, or is urged by so eminent a neutral as the Pope, the discussion cannot be wholly sidetracked and might as well be taken up in a straightforward way by the press, even though the governments may not find the conditions ripe for successful negotiation of an official character.

*War As an
Official
Predilection*

The time has arrived when the question of peace should be considered openly and frankly. The long-suffering people who make up what we call "the public," in Germany, Austria, France, and England, have not hitherto discussed their war problems freely; and the American people have been placed under such bonds of patient self-restraint, and have become so much the victims of misleading news from Europe, that they of all peoples in the world are now perhaps least well-informed about what is going on. The individuals who through more or less accidental modes of selection have come together to form what the newspapers call "official circles," are playing with vast forces and powers in ways that commit them to the prosecution of war with an instinctive prejudice against the mention of peace. They are participating in the "great game," and resent interruption. Those just and moderate counsels that must prevail if peace is to be made do not find response in the minds of the war enthusiasts. The newspapers, and the great business and financial interests, are in the main committed to the war logic, and to the practical war projects of officialdom. Moreover, somebody gets the billions of dollars that officialdom is spending. The personal fame and fortune of hosts of influential men in America, as in the other belligerent countries, are now bound up with the playing of the stupendous war game "to a finish." The rights, interests, and desires of the plain people are all on the side of peace, provided the terms be reasonable and the prospect of permanence be good. The intensity of the peace-longing of hundreds of millions of suffering people in Europe and elsewhere is only equalled by the discipline they show.

*Grounds of
Lasting
Peace*

The United States went into this war to help "make the world safe for democracy." This can only be accomplished by ending excessive militarism in the form of vast land armaments, and excessive navalism in the sense of fighting power on the common seas exercised by individual nations in their own interest. Furthermore, there can be no stable peace in the world until the colonial system—that is to say, the obsolete "empire business"—is brought to an end. It is true enough that Germany's struggle for an imperial place in the world brought on this war. But it is only less true that the imperial conquests, ambitions, rivalries, and selfish aims of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, Italy, and France had very much to do with creating Germany's false and belated imperial programs. Russia now sees these things in a new light. The people of the United States have seen them clearly, and will continue to do so unless their judgment is warped by the constant tendency to direct American public opinion from London and Paris. Americans should not for a moment fail to see that if the larger aims of this war are accomplished the lesser details can be worked out along lines of sound principle. The Allies are now in some danger of yielding to the guidance of the same false principles that dominated Germany and Austria at the start. That is to say, they are demanding the mere spoils of victory. The fairest-minded man in the world is the Englishman. But it may not be conceded that his fair-mindedness entitles him to the dominant place in the world. The English mind cannot always entertain—in matters of world-wide policy—the unwelcome view that the same rules and standards should apply to different countries. Thus England declares she must keep Germany's colonies for their own good. The British Empire may indeed be said to furnish a working model. One way out of the present agony might be an insistent application for membership in the British Empire on the part of numerous other countries. That an indefinite continuance of the present insane European war is likely to spread ideals of British justice through the earth, may well be doubted. Liberty and progress are not propagated by force.

*Empire Greed
the Chief
Danger*

Behind the scenes, the peace talk and peace efforts in Europe are incessant. If the United States had not gone into the war, France and Eng-



THE CARRIER FROM ROME
From the Public Ledger (Philadelphia)

land would almost certainly by this time have made peace with Germany, on terms not sufficiently advantageous to France. The facts have been kept from the American people because it is the official view in Paris, London, and Washington that the people cannot now be trusted with the truth. When the whole truth about the war is known in future, the discredit will be variously distributed. Meanwhile, all people who are able to keep their heads cool in exciting times, and who are not affected by selfish interests or ambitions, are keenly desirous to have peace made without one moment of needless postponement. The United States regards the cause of the Entente Allies as incomparably more just and righteous than the cause of Germany. Our country became belligerent in order to help end the war on sound and lasting principles. President Wilson has stated those principles repeatedly, and they must not be waived. The danger is that America's assistance will be used by her European associates for the very opposite of the reason that induced her to go to war. The British say they will not give up the German colonies that they have seized. The French say that Alsace-Lorraine must be taken away from Germany by force. The Italians say that they must have considerable portions of Austria which they had not pretended to claim during the long period of



HERR MATHIAS ERZBERGER, A PROMINENT LEADER OF THE CENTRIST OR CATHOLIC PARTY IN THE GERMAN REICHSTAG

(Who was active in bringing about the adoption of the peace resolutions in the Reichstag at the time of the overthrow of Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, in July, and who is said to have had some influence in persuading the Pope to make his peace appeal at this time. He works with Austrian leaders.)

their alliance with Austria, and which they began to claim only after Austria was involved in war and was apparently approaching defeat at Russia's hands. This war, as we have so often stated, is the climax of the mad imperial rivalries of the European powers. It would be a shocking thing if America's enormous sacrifices in entering the war were to be used chiefly in assisting several of these European empires to enlarge their holdings and consolidate their positions. The thing that is wrong is the system itself. America did not go into the war to help one set of empires dominate the world more securely by crushing their rivals.

*The
Vatican
Address*

These remarks, if somewhat rudely frank, are made from a sense of duty in view of the tone in which many newspapers in Allied countries, and not a few in the United States, made haste last month to assail, as if with nervous alarm, the noble and beneficent peace address issued from the Vatican. Pope

Benedict's outline of a peace basis consists of two parts—namely, that which is fundamental, permanent, and of immeasurable importance to all the people of the world; and, second, that which has to do with specific adjustments. The spirit of the Pope's address is lofty, impartial, and sincere. The proposals, as respects essential things, are precisely those that President Wilson has more than once laid down. The suggestions concerning matters of practical adjustment are beneficent in principle and do not purport to be other than tentative in concrete application. The irritated criticism of the Allied press has either disparaged and dismissed the Vatican rescript as "made in Germany," or else has turned the discussion upon matters of detail in practical adjustment, such as the nature and extent of Belgian indemnification or the future of Alsace-Lorraine. These discussions have been unworthy in view of the horrors of the war and the great moral value of the Pope's attempt at peace-making.

*The Pope's
Larger
Proposals*

The opening observations of Pope Benedict express in a general way a yearning desire for the welfare of the nations, deplore the cruelty and destruction of the war, and appeal to Europe to save itself from suicide. The address then proceeds to make practical suggestions. The important and permanent proposals are as follows (this rather awkward translation having been given out by the State Department at Washington, August 16):

First, the fundamental point must be that the material force of arms shall give way to the moral force of right, whence shall proceed a just agreement of all upon the simultaneous and reciprocal decrease of armaments, according to rules and guarantees to be established, in the necessary and sufficient measure for the maintenance of public order in every State; then, taking the place of arms, the institution of arbitration, with its high pacifying function, according to rules to be drawn in concert and under sanctions to be determined against any State which would decline either to refer international questions to arbitrators or to accept its awards.

When supremacy of right is thus established, let every obstacle to ways of communication of the peoples be removed by insuring, through rules to be also determined, the true freedom and community of the seas, which, on the one hand, would eliminate any causes of conflict, and, on the other hand, would open to all new sources of prosperity and progress.

These ideas are in keeping with those that Mr. Wilson had proclaimed on behalf of

the United States. The Vatican follows our Government in demanding general disarmament and the abolition of militarism as an international menace. It accepts the American demand for world organization for the sake of settling differences between nations under rules of law, to be duly enforced. The references to the free use of the seas and the protection of legitimate commerce are in accord with all sound and modern views. The full acceptance of these ideas would insure a permanent peace. The world would thus be made "safe for democracy." The objects for which the United States went to war would be fully attained if these principles as laid down by the Vatican were adopted and put into practical effect.

*Details
of
Settlement*

Compared with these great outlines of world harmony and control by rules of reason and law, the mere settlement of particular questions becomes of slight moment. Yet in the Paris, London, and New York discussion of the Vatican document, almost no attention has been given to the important things, while innumerable columns have been written upon the minor issues. If the *principles* of disarmament and of the equitable adjustment of disputes can be agreed upon, the detailed applications lose vital importance. As against the clamor of those who oppose the Vatican's suggestions for territorial and pecuniary settlements, we merely place before our readers the calm and moderate language of the Papal document itself. These suggestions, in the version of our State Department, are as follows:

As for the damages to be repaid and the cost of the war, we see no other way of solving the question than by setting up the general principle of entire and reciprocal conditions, which would be justified by the immense benefit to be derived from disarmament, all the more as one could not understand that such carnage could go on for mere economic reasons. If certain particular reasons stand against this in certain cases, let them be weighed in justice and equity.

But these specific agreements, with the immense advantages that flow from them, are not possible unless territory now occupied is reciprocally restituted. Therefore, on the part of Germany, there should be total evacuation of Belgium, with guarantees of its entire political, military, and economic independence toward any power whatever; evacuation also of the French territory; on the part of the other belligerents, a similar restitution of the German colonies.

As regards territorial questions, as, for instance, those that are disputed by Italy and Austria, by Germany and France, there is reason to hope that, in consideration of the immense advantages of

lasting peace with disarmament, the contending parties will examine them in a conciliatory spirit, taking into account, as far as is just and possible, as we have said formerly, the aspirations of the population, and, if occasion arises, adjusting private interests to the general good of the great human society.

The same spirit of equity and justice must guide the examination of other territorial and political questions, notably those relative to Armenia, the Balkan States, and the territories forming part of the old Kingdom of Poland, for which, in particular, its noble historical traditions and suffering, particularly undergone in the present war, must win, with justice, the sympathies of the nations.

*Relative
Costs of War
and Peace*

It should be borne in mind that Pope Benedict is offering general suggestions, and is not attempting to anticipate the necessary judgments of a peace conference. The longer the war goes on, the more true it is that questions of monetary indemnity lose importance. The Washington financial authorities tell us that as a mere starter the United States must raise in the first war year, by loans and taxes, twenty billions of dollars. England in three years of the war has spent only 25 per cent. more than we are to raise before we have begun to be fairly on a war footing. What we spent in the entire four years of our colossal Civil War would now carry us through only three or four weeks of our pre-



A MESSENGER
From the Evening Post (New York)

liminary effort to help our European friends in a war in which we are not as yet directly engaged. The second year of the war will be much more costly for us. The British and German rates of war expenditure have steadily increased from the start. In comparison with all this destruction of resources, the restoration of Belgium would be the merest financial trifle. It would be like comparing the cost of a street-car ticket to the price of a luxurious limousine. Everybody knows that Belgium must be restored and helped. It would probably make for the best future relations if the entire world should join in reconstructing all the regions most damaged by the war. Poles and Armenians have been the chief sufferers. The cost of the war for a single week would probably pay in full for restoring the towns and cities of Belgium and France. A careful inquiry would doubtless show that much of the physical damage to Belgium has already been remedied during the three years since the German armies came into occupation. Serbia and Rumania will be entitled to generous treatment.

Some
Mistaken
Presumptions

It must
not be
supposed

for a moment that the world is going to tolerate the principle that "finding is keeping" when it comes to settling the results of the war. Merely because one belligerent rather than another happened to seize and occupy certain territories, it does not follow presumably that the old-time practices of conquest are going to be respected by all the nations. The German colonies were seized by the British because that happened to be a very easy step for the British to take at the outset of a world war. The presumption that these colonies must therefore remain permanently in British hands is quite

too crude for times like these. It does not follow, on the other hand, that they ought to be given back to Germany. These outlying regions of Africa, and these undeveloped islands of the southern seas, ought not to be regarded as the private plunder either of England or of Germany. They should be administered for the public good, under public auspices. Self-governing South Africa should take her place at once as a full member of the family of nations. German Southwest Africa should in due time become an equal member of the South African confederation.

German and English commercial, mining, and other interests should be guaranteed and safeguarded in this Union of South Africa. England has now annexed Egypt, precisely as Austria a few years ago annexed Bosnia. And England certainly should continue to administer Egypt, with a view to the protection of all interests and with the object of building up, slowly but surely, the native peoples of Egypt and the Sudan.

Turkey
in
Trust

The Germans are wonderful merchants and international traders, but very poor colonial administrators. Their commercial interests in the world should

be given just and even-handed treatment. They should be encouraged to go on with their engineering and economic developments in Asia Minor, but with the elimination of all military and imperial ideas. Asia Minor should be governed for the welfare and development of its populations, and neutralized under international guarantees. It should be reconstructed by experts and administered in trust, somewhat as we carry on the Philippines. Turks, Armenians, Greeks—all races and elements—should be protected in their religious and



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CARDINAL GASPARRI, PAPAL SECRETARY OF STATE

(It is understood that the Pope's peace appeal was preceded by much conference with diplomatists of different countries, in which the Papal Secretary, Cardinal Gasparri, had a leading part)

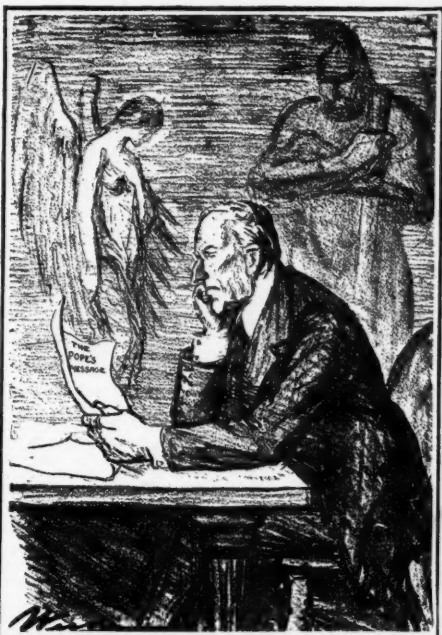
civil freedom until Asia Minor, under the name of Anatolia or some other name—not "Turkey"—should fifty years hence be worthy of a place in the family of nations. An American of international standing and repute, like Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Root, Mr. Taft, Secretary Lane, Mr. Morgenthau, or Mr. Hoover, should be made Governor-General of what is now Turkey in Asia, with large powers. Russian and English intrigues in Persia should cease, while British, French, and Russian, as well as German, commercial and educational interests throughout western Asia should be fully protected. Constantinople and the straits should be made free, neutral, and international.

Boundary Issues

Over against all the Pope's wise and noble suggestions for world peace, the press of Paris reiterates only one phrase: "We must have Alsace-Lorraine!" Pope Benedict suggests that the Alsace-Lorraine question be settled upon its merits. It is no longer a French question. The peace of the world is involved in having this matter determined permanently. It will soon be fifty years since France relinquished her claims upon Alsace-Lorraine. A vastly larger thing—the final defeat of Germany's schemes of military dominance—is the issue in the present war. However much we might like to see Alsace-Lorraine restored to France, we cannot afford to have the return accomplished as a result of military conquest, apart from assurances of permanent reconciliation. The one thing to be gained is that Alsace-Lorraine shall cease to be a bone of contention. An adjustment must be found that will be accepted by French and Germans alike in their inmost hearts as well as in treaties. Furthermore, the adjustment must have the express sanction of other nations. The world cannot tolerate the continuance of feuds that endanger the general peace. Italy's ambitions are somewhat antagonistic to those of Serbia and Greece, as well as to those of Austria-Hungary and Turkey. It will be extremely difficult to settle affairs in the Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean, if indulgence must be shown to the claims of various nations. France and Italy must subordinate particular aims to general principles.

Why the War Must Go On

The trouble is that the great governments of Europe do not really want or believe in disarmament, arbitration, freedom of seas, and the wise devolution of menacing empires. The



PRESIDENT WILSON CONSIDERS THE POPE'S MESSAGE

"Once to every man and nation
Comes the moment to decide"

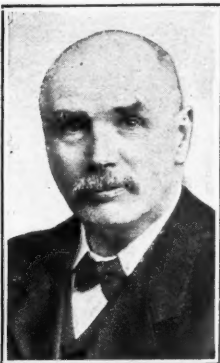
From the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia)

(It was deemed likely, as these pages went to press, that President Wilson would make reply to the Pope's appeal, not only for the United States, but for Great Britain, France, and the other Allies. American public opinion was prepared to accept the President's judgment upon the question whether or not the time had come for attempting to discuss the principles and terms of peace.)

interests of the plain people who live in these European countries are not served by their ruling classes. Statesmanship in Europe thinks and acts in certain grooves. The military and political castes have their professional games to play, and these are deadly to the common people. These games tax the people oppressively for foolish schemes of empire that demand great armies and navies, and slaughter their sons. After all, the world cannot be made "safe for democracy" until democracy comes into its own in the leading nations. Russia and the United States are ready for disarmament, a league of nations, arbitration, freedom of the ocean, respect for the rights of all peoples and races. But it is to be feared that no other great nations, on either side of the war—except China—are ready to stand on the platform of President Wilson and Pope Benedict in so far as the real aims of their ruling classes are concerned. They are all thinking in terms of national rivalry, and scheming to see how many of their own chestnuts can be



ARTHUR HENDERSON



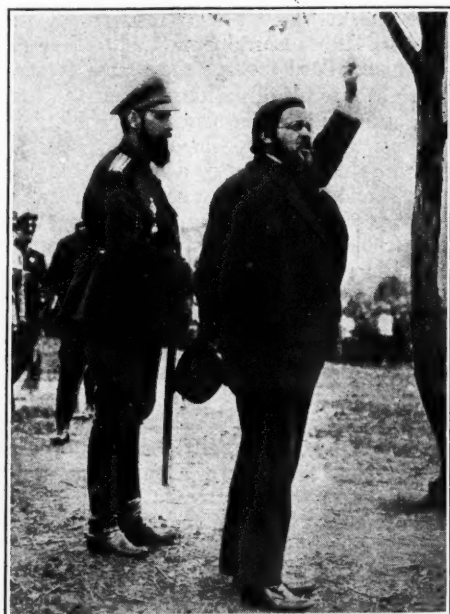
GEORGE NICOLL BARNES

(Mr. Henderson, who was Labor representative in the British war board, resigned last month on account of misunderstanding with Mr. Lloyd George regarding passports to Englishmen who were to have attended the Socialist conference at Stockholm in September. Mr. Henderson's official place in the cabinet war council has been taken by another Labor member of Parliament, Mr. George Nicoll Barnes)

pulled out of the fire in the war settlement. Germany is tired of the war, but her rulers are more intent than ever upon securing Germany's great future through the organization of power and the devotion of science to national ends. England is planning imperial consolidation on a scale which, if successful, might compel all the rest of the world to unite in a rival organization. The shrill repulsion in France, England, and Italy, as well as in Germany, of the idea of a peace based upon disarmament and the settlement of all issues by an unselfish appeal to reason, makes it likely that the war must go on longer, until certain rulers are superseded.

In these remarks thus far we have not alluded to the attempts of the European Socialists to meet at Stockholm and find a way to harmonize the nations on the basis of the common interests of humanity. These Socialists are out of favor in all the official circles, because they are much more opposed to officialdom, civil and military, in their own countries than they are to the plain people of the so-called "enemy countries." Mr. Henderson, the Labor member of the British War Council, wanted peace in the interest of the people, and was perhaps too hopeful about the usefulness of the proposed Stockholm conference. He supposed that he was working with Kerensky and the Russian Government; and he was undoubtedly cooperating with M. Thomas, the Socialist Minister of Munitions in the war government of France. Among the laboring classes of England and

France, there was much sympathy with the idea that the proposed Stockholm peace conference might help to create understandings, and might thus bring the end of the war a little nearer. To be sure, the attitude of Mr. Lloyd George and the governing group, in opposing the conference and refusing to give passports to English representatives of workmen and Socialists, was perfectly logical. The war, however, is not going to be ended by the logic of Prime Ministers and Chancellors, trained to skillful argument. Obviously the man whose business it is to prosecute a war cannot at the same time be exercising his mind upon adjustments by compromise. War governments, furthermore, tend to become excessively arbitrary in minor things. It is true that the governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States had no reason at all to expect immediate results of a valuable kind from the international conference of Socialists at Stockholm in September. But to refuse passports to citizens who wish to go to a neutral country, in order to meet private citizens of other countries and confer about the common interests of humanity, seems rather needless. There cannot be too much conference among men from different



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M. ALBERT THOMAS, FRENCH MINISTER OF MUNITIONS, SPEAKING TO RUSSIAN SOLDIERS ON HIS RECENT VISIT TO PETROGRAD

nations who desire peace. The Stockholm conference is not likely to be important; but meanwhile there will have been held at London a conference of Socialists and labor representatives from the Allied countries, in the closing days of August and the early days of the present month. These men will insist upon saying what they think about the obstacles to peace.

*Germany
Still
Obdurate*

Official bravado in Germany is kept up, and the press in great part takes orders and joins in helping to blind the German people to the realities. Nevertheless, as we pointed out last month, there was in the Reichstag peace resolutions some gleam of intelligent perception. The German nation likes order and system, and it dreads the weakness of divided councils and of revolution. The best Germans do not yet see how to transform Germany into a liberal country without losing some of Germany's unity and strength. There is no such potent mechanism in the world as the German Empire; but its mistakes of policy and method are now draining the vitality of the German people and will have to be atoned for through much future suffering. Peace would come at once



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KAISER WILLIAM AND PRINCE RUPPRECHT OF BAVARIA

(This is a recent photograph of the Emperor and the Bavarian Crown Prince, who is a real soldier and leader of the German armies that have been facing the English in Flanders)



CHANCELLOR MICHAELIS (soliloquizing at his job): "Remarkable how much of this stuff we rulers can make the German people take."

From the News (Dayton, Ohio)

if German civilians and soldiers could do as Russia has done, and overthrow their masters and leaders. No people in the world are more capable of carrying on a great republic than the Germans; and their repudiation of autocracy would give them almost at once the intellectual and social leadership of Europe, if not of the world. The liberal revolution that failed in '48 may be revived and may succeed seventy years later. But it must be confessed that the signs as yet are unpromising. The new Chancellor, Michaelis, has proposed no fresh policies, and German political reform seems to be indefinitely postponed. It is said that the leaders of the Centrist or Catholic party, working through Austria, had some relation to the issuance of the Pope's appeal for peace. But we must regard the Vatican movement as inspired solely by humane motives and as untouched by diplomatic intrigue.

*Russia
Inspires
Optimism*

Distressing on many accounts as the Russian situation has been during the past five or six months, those who are best acquainted with it are inclined to be enthusiastic rather than depressed. Mr. Elihu Root, for example, looking at it all with large sympathy and a



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MR. ELIHU ROOT AND HIS COLLEAGUES OF THE MISSION TO RUSSIA, AS SEEN AT PETROGRAD

(From right to left in the front row are Mr. Terestchenko, General Brusiloff, Mr. Root, General Scott, and Colonel Judson. Behind General Brusiloff, in the military cap, is Major Stanley Washburn, author of the article on Russia in this number of the REVIEW. The others are all prominent Americans and Russians)

sense of movement in historic time, returned last month with the most unqualified praise of the Russian people, who had done marvelously well in this period of sharp transition. Mr. Root and his colleagues have carried the more conviction in the United States by reason of their agreement with one another in all essential things. They were useful and influential in Russia, were able to strengthen materially the bonds of good will between Russia and America, and were all of them hopeful for the future. Mr. Stanley Washburn, who was an official member of the party, and who is an expert in Russian military and political matters, presents an encouraging report of conditions in an article contributed to this number of the REVIEW (see page 278). It is not necessary for the American reader to be too much concerned over the day-by-day news from Russia. The provisional government under Kerensky tends to become more authoritative, and the army, while suffering defeats, is re-

covering its fighting edge and will doubtless utilize the immunity of a Russian winter in making ready for important activities next May. The Russians are eager for peace, in order that they may organize their republic and reconstitute their civil life. But they know well that they must fight the invader boldly before they can expect a durable and worthy peace.

*Aspects
of
the War*

Mr. Simonds presents (see page 260) his admirable monthly conspectus of the war in its military aspects and general conditions. He believes that the Germans are suffering more in the depletion of their "man power" than has generally been known, and he attaches exceptional importance to pending British offensives. The Germans cannot resist furious and continuous onslaughts without an increasing strain upon their resources that begins to be relatively greater than the strain upon the aggregate resources of the Allies.

Nevertheless, if the object of the war is to crush and destroy Germany, there is little reason to think that the Germans could not shorten their lines and fight on the defensive for a number of years to come. Mr. Lloyd George last month made a very optimistic speech in which he attempted to show that the submarine danger was growing relatively smaller month by month. He has not, however, been frank enough to give explicit information, and the German reports on tonnage destroyed have in times past proven to be more accurate than the British.

*Ships
and
Submarines*

It is a disturbing thing that these English statesmen, in their minimizing of the submarine menace, always give as their chief ground of assurance the fact that—with America's herculean efforts and her unprecedented money expenditures in the building of new ships—there will be a constant supply of fresh victims for German submarines. The British navy, meanwhile, is being conserved, apparently for ocean domination at the end of the war. It was stated last month that the Germans had three hundred submarines in active service. It is probable that the number is considerably greater. It is also true that the enemies of Germany have captured or sunk very few submarines since the war began. It seems not to have occurred to Mr. Lloyd George that while Britain and her allies were building more merchant ships, the Germans were also building more submarines. American naval men, especially the younger and more scholarly officers, are largely of the opinion that the British navy ought to be used aggressively against Germany's naval and submarine bases.

*Fighting
Versus
War-Making*

The Allies have shown themselves brave and hard fighters, and have organized the supply of material resources on a magnificent scale. They have, indeed, fought; but they have lacked directive intelligence of the higher kind to create war plans and carry them out. While Germany has, through her marvelous war organization known as the General Staff, unified the fighting forces of the league of Central Powers and given the war an undivided strategical guidance, the Allies, with far greater aggregate supplies of men and materials, have scattered their efforts, wasting the lives of their men and squandering their resources through piecemeal and haphazard ventures, ill-timed and



DUKE ALBRECHT, OF WÜRTTEMBERG

(One of the leading representatives of German militarism and autocracy. Supreme command on the western front is divided among Duke Albrecht, the Prussian Crown Prince Frederick William, and Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria)

unrelated. France and England undoubtedly are cooperating better now than at first; but German successes in the main have been due to the fact that the Allies were merely fighting, here and there, while the Germans were making war. From the very beginning, the United States has been ready to subordinate its naval and military efforts to any form of higher strategy promising results through cooperation.

*Steady
War Progress
of Allies*

If peace is deferred until next summer, and if military activity should be diminished during the winter, the Allies will have increased their relative superiority by April or May. While the presence of American troops in France, thus far, has served merely to give fresh courage and hope to the French people, it is evident from the orders already made public that the American Army abroad will by next summer be large enough to amount to some-



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DR. FRIDTJOF NANSEN, ARCTIC EXPLORER AND SPECIAL COMMISSIONER FROM NORWAY TO THE UNITED STATES

(Dr. Nansen seeks to effect an arrangement with the authorities at Washington to obtain grain, fats, and sugars for Norway, under guarantees to prevent reshipment across the Baltic to Germany)

thing in the fighting sense. If one were to guess that 100,000 National Guard troops might have followed 150,000 American regulars before next summer, it would not presume to be an authorized or responsible estimate. By that time we shall have gone far with our great aviation program. Germany is straining her resources to build more aircraft, but she will not be able to match the output of England, France and America. The Germans are saying less now than a few weeks ago in disdain of Uncle Sam's war prowess. Furthermore, we shall be able, in many ways, to assist Russia in doing her part. Mr. Root emphasizes Russia's lack of railroad equipment, and this country can do much to supply such needs. Now that China has definitely become a belligerent, while Japan is eager to cooperate with the United States, practical ways of helping Russia become more clearly defined. Thus China can furnish indefinite supplies of railroad labor, while America and Japan can provide rails and rolling stock, and as many engineers and experts in construction work as may be required. Russia has ample numbers of sol-

diers; her chief needs being equipment and transportation. England is now fully militarized; and France and Italy have taken heart. The welcome visit of an important Japanese mission to this country may result in a more active use of Japan's military power to help end the war within the year 1918. There is much the Allies can do through full cooperation.

*The Embargo
as a
War Device*

One of the measures definitely taken that is expected to have an important bearing upon the war itself is the embargo placed by the United States upon the shipment of supplies to neutral countries that would render war assistance to Germany. It is somewhat extraordinary that the smaller neutral countries around the Baltic should continue to demand so insistently that the United States—straining its resources in the carrying-on of a war for the welfare and security of the lands and peoples of northern and western Europe—should be expected to sell great volumes of commodities to those same neutrals in order that they might continue profitable trading with Germany, and thus help to defeat the cause in which America is enlisted. These countries have been singularly slow, moreover, in supplying the promised facts and figures to prove that they were not engaged in shipping to Germany the very things they were importing from the United States, or the equivalent. Thus Sweden has come here for our iron to make up her own lacks because of unprecedented sales of Swedish iron and ore to Germany. All of these small countries have imported vastly more cotton than their own needs require, and have resold it to Germany, where it enters into the making of explosives. We are even expected to sell foodstuffs to these countries, of the very same character as much that they have been selling of their own production to Germany. It is obviously true that these countries have a right to sell whatever they like to any of their neighbors, whether belligerent or neutral. But it is equally obvious that we as a belligerent power must see that our supplies of food and other materials are used for our own benefit and for the support of our allies. It is now a serious question whether the Scandinavian countries and Holland, not to mention Spain, ought not to take an active part in opposing Germany and bringing to a righteous end a great war in which the future of small nations is one of the matters principally at stake.

Mr. Hoover
Now in
Authority

Mr. Herbert Hoover, from his long experience in rationing Belgium, became exceedingly familiar with the problems that we are trying to meet at Washington by an embargo which has kept scores of neutral vessels, laden with wheat and other commodities, interned in our harbors. Doubtless Mr. Hoover's influence has helped to show the Washington authorities the importance of the decisive course that is now being pursued. With the passage of the so-called Food Control Bill, Mr. Hoover, through President Wilson's designation, became clothed last month with extraordinary power. There was much opposition in Congress to certain parts of the bill, but not much hostility to the measure as a whole. There were also some personal attacks upon Mr. Hoover, but they were wholly undeserved and without influence. He has assumed a great burden, and he may commit some errors of judgment; but we predict for him a marked success. He has already secured the aid of many experts, and he will proceed under due advice in each step. Wheat speculation will be curbed, and the Government, as the largest purchaser, will regulate prices while appreciating the farmer's end of the situation. A typical member of Mr. Hoover's staff is Mr. Lou D. Sweet, the country's foremost authority upon the production of potatoes, who writes for this number of the REVIEW an interesting article upon what we may call the immediate potato situation, in view of the very large crop and the fluctuation of prices. Mr. Julius H. Barnes, of Duluth, who has written for this magazine as an expert upon the American grain trade and the problems of rail and water transportation, is head of Mr. Hoover's wheat commission, while President Garfield of Williams College heads a board on wheat price-fixing.

The Liquor
Question in
War Time

There was much delay in the passage of the Food Control Bill, by reason of the discussion of two or three special topics which were introduced in the form of amendments. The most important of these was the question of the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors. The Senate finally decided to submit to the legislatures of the States an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which would, if adopted, ordain nation-wide prohibition. It is expected that the House will vote favorably upon this amendment early in the December



HON. MORRIS SHEPPARD, OF TEXAS

(Author of the resolution adopted by the Senate, last month, to submit to the States a prohibition amendment to the federal Constitution)

session. Meanwhile, however, the Food Control law itself bears importantly upon the subject of alcoholic drinks. The bill was signed on August 8, and under its provisions the manufacture of distilled liquor ceases one month later—namely Saturday, September 8. While the avowed object is to save grain for food, the action was chiefly due to temperance sentiment. The newspapers have stated that Mr. Hoover is also ordering the reduction of the alcoholic strength of beer to a maximum of 2 per cent., as against the present average of two or three times that amount. This will save grain, while rendering beer less stimulating and harmful. The stocks of distilled liquors held in store by distillers and dealers are very large, and the Government revenue from that source will not be much impaired for the present year by the cessation of manufacture. But next year it will fall off.

Shall Congress
Help Run
the War

Another question that arose persistently during the progress of the Senate debate on the Food Control Bill was that of a joint standing



HON. A. F. LEVER, OF SOUTH CAROLINA

(Who, as chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, was prominently identified with the Food Control measure in its passage through the House. He successfully supported the President as against the Senate proposal to create a joint committee on expenditures in the conduct of the war)

committee of the two houses of Congress on the conduct of the war. Senator Weeks, of Massachusetts, was foremost in the advocacy of such a committee, while the plan had many supporters in both parties and was added by the Senate as an amendment to the bill. The House conferees would not accept it, however, and it was dropped on the understanding that it would come up for consideration as a separate question on its own merits. Members of both houses complain that while, at the Administration's demand, they are supplying unprecedented sums of money by taxation and loans, they have very little knowledge of how the money is being spent and no knowledge at all of the existence of any working plan for carrying on the war. President Wilson, while the matter was under debate, wrote a letter to Congressman Lever, who was guiding the Food Control measure through the House, in which he declared that Senator Weeks' proposal "would, if enacted into law, render my task of conducting the war practically

impossible." Mr. Wilson proceeded as follows:

I cannot believe that those who proposed this section scrutinized it with care or analyzed the effects which its operation would necessarily have. The constant supervision of executive action which it contemplates would amount to nothing less than an assumption on the part of the legislative body of the executive work of the Administration.

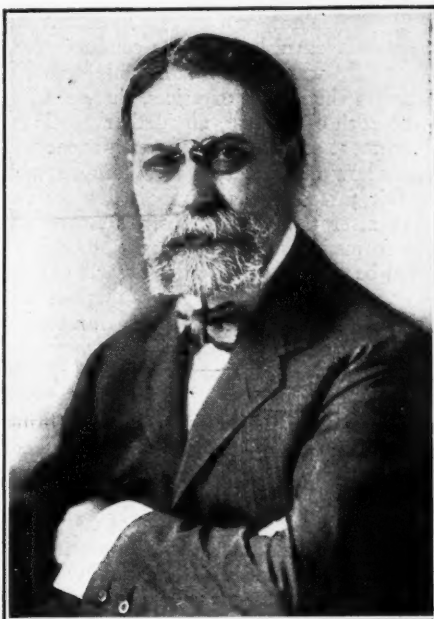
There is a very ominous precedent in our history which shows how such a supervision would operate. I refer to the committee on the conduct of the war constituted by the Congress during the Administration of Mr. Lincoln. It was the cause of constant and distressing harassment and rendered Mr. Lincoln's task all but impossible.

Mr. Wilson commented further in the same spirit, stating that the appointment of a special committee by Congress would imply lack of confidence in the President in the exercise of a responsibility that "rests upon the Administration." It will be remembered that this appeal by the President was made after the Senate had adopted the Weeks amendment. The reference by Mr. Wilson, to the effect upon President Lincoln of the Congressional committee on the conduct of the war that existed throughout the four years from '61 to '65, is of such a nature as to lead the reader to wonder how that committee really worked. We must call attention, therefore, to an article contributed to this number of the REVIEW by Professor Ogg, of the University of Wisconsin, a distinguished authority in American political and constitutional history, who reviews the methods of the committee which operated under the leadership of such radical Republicans of the Civil War period as Senators "Ben" Wade and "Zach" Chandler. Mr. Ogg's instructive article will be found on page 295. It is the more important because the question of a war committee is yet to be taken up as an independent measure.

On Price-
Fixing by
Government

Professor Seligman of Columbia discusses in another department of this issue of the REVIEW the theories of price-fixing which are now so largely holding the attention of Washington and of the business and financial world. He would divide all things sold and purchased into three groups, one very small one including commodities of fundamental importance like coal, wheat, and ships, to be completely under Governmental control; another consisting chiefly of certain important raw materials like copper and oil to be subject to

price regulation, and all the remainder to be left free as to price to answer the law of supply and demand, with taxation of excess war profits derived from them to take the place of price regulation. Professor Seligman is perhaps a little more than fair to the attitude of those who advocate price-fixing, in his construction of a second group, the prices of which are to be fixed by the Government on the particular ground that high war prices would not increase production. Many will challenge his selection of oil and copper to form the backbone of this group. As a matter of fact, the high prices of the war period have operated to increase enormously the supply of copper; in 1913 America's production was 612,000 tons; the production for 1916 was 964,000 tons. It is undoubtedly true that to-day a very important tonnage now coming from the lower-grade "porphyry" copper mines would be impossible with the metal selling at less than 15 cents per pound. So also with oil. A great number of individual wells—and also practically entire fields—which had to be passed over as unprofitable with oil selling at normal prices, are now being operated. The Kentucky oil fields in particular are illustrative.



PROF. E. R. A. SELIGMAN

(A leader in the discussion of problems of war finance—expenditures as well as revenues)

**A War
Industries
Board**

To end the confusion which had come in the varying theories and practises as to prices to be paid by the Government through the committees of the Council of National Defense and the Government departments, President Wilson appointed on July 28 a War Industries Board, with Mr. Frank A. Scott, of Cleveland, chairman. The other members are Bernard M. Baruch, of New York; Lieutenant-Colonel Palmer E. Pierce, representing the Army; Rear-Admiral Frank H. Fletcher, representing the Navy; Hugh Frayne, a well-known labor organizer; Robert S. Brookings, a merchant of St. Louis; and Robert S. Lovett of the Union Pacific. It was announced that this Board would proceed to take measures for increasing the production of war materials, decide on priority of delivery of commodities, and furnish a policy and a plan for obtaining reasonable prices for supplies. A special committee will, as a purchasing commission, have charge of the last-named work. Mr. Baruch is chairman, and Messrs. Brookings and Lovett the other members. The Allies' purchases in America may be handled by a special Allies' committee acting in coöperation with our War Industries Board.

Sept.—2

**Plans and
Policies in War
Business**

On August 8, the War Industries Board made an official statement as to its general purpose, though the public is as yet quite vague as to how these are to be achieved. The plan is to make sure that our Allies shall receive for their supplies used in the war the same concessions that are given the United States Government. The Board is careful to announce, however, that this policy is only to be carried out where it can be reciprocal. In other words, the Allies must deal on this basis with their own producers, and in selling to us and to each other. Also, the plan is to be limited to war materials proper. Otherwise, raw material sold at especially low prices to England and France might be manufactured abroad and come back to us to compete with our own manufactures with great injustice to the latter. The spokesman for the War Industries Board continues the Administration's assurance that price-fixing will allow a reasonable profit, but there is no further elucidation of just how the Government is to arrive at what is a reasonable profit. The Board is not yet charged with the work of seeing that prices to the general public are reasonable, and intimates that it may not go into this problem at all.

*Some
Practical
Difficulties*

Thus, while the President has furnished for the conduct of the war a very admirable board to deal with the matter of prices, there was, up to the 20th of August, no further public enlightenment as to how any human agency, no matter how admirable, is to determine what are fair prices. It was reported some two weeks after the War Industries Board had been formed that wherever possible supplies would be obtained through contracts at fixed prices, with the "cost-plus-profit" plan held in reserve for cases where the manufacturing prices were very complicated and where conditions could not be clearly foreseen. To show one of the many difficulties of the cost-and-profit plan, the news of the day brings instances of labor demands coming immediately upon the closing of such contracts, with the effect of greatly increasing the cost of production, and also increasing, of course, the profit to the manufacturer. A much more important and fundamental difficulty arises, of course, from the fact that the costs of production vary so much between individual producers and in different localities.

*Shaping
the Tax
Measure*

Elsewhere in this issue is printed an article from Mr. Charles F. Spere, giving in some detail the provisions of the Revenue Bill reported to the Senate by its Finance Committee, and now under discussion. In August a minority report was made by Senators LaFollette, Gore, and Thomas, setting forth a greatly simplified and more radical method of raising the funds which taxation will have to furnish for the special war needs of the year. These three Senators, members of the Finance Committee, would obtain the entire sum needed from three sources—incomes, excess war profits, and the liquor industry. By the middle of the month plans were under way to restrict debate on the bill in the Senate, and leaders in Congress hoped that it could go into conference early in September. The items on which the debate promised chiefly to center were the income tax, the excess profits tax, and the special demands on publishers. Senator Weeks, of Massachusetts, offered an amendment for removing the proposed special taxes on publishers, which, as the bill stands, would require an increase of 25 per cent. in the Post Office charges for carrying newspapers and magazines, and would also take 5 per cent. of the net profits of publishers over and above the taxes that they in common with other corporations and

individual business houses are asked to pay. Senator Weeks pointed out in support of his amendment that it was highly illogical to select a particular industry which had already been hard hit by the war, especially through the high cost of paper, and require it to pay, in addition to all the various taxes which other businesses bear, two special taxes imposed upon publishers alone.

*Pushing the
Great Aerial
Program*

On July 24, President Wilson signed the largest appropriation bill ever presented to any President for his signature. The bill devotes \$640,000,000 for the development of an immense American aviation organization. This is in addition to the \$45,000,000 for aviation asked for by the Navy for its own airplane plant. It had wisely been decided that airplanes and expert pilots would be America's most effective contribution to the winning of the war, and Congress passed the bill in record time. Results must not be looked for too soon, however—as has been explained by Chairman Howard E. Coffin,



Photo by Central News Photo Service

AWARDING COMMISSIONS TO SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES OF THE OFFICERS' TRAINING CAMP AT FORT MYER, VIRGINIA, LAST MONTH

(Sixteen hundred student officers received their commissions from Secretary of War Baker, in the presence of President Wilson. Similar scenes occurred in the other thirteen officers' training camps)



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THE SELECTIVE-DRAFT-LAW EXEMPTION BOARD FOR NEW YORK CITY, DECIDING APPEALS FROM DECISIONS MADE BY DISTRICT BOARDS

(Ex-Justice Charles E. Hughes sits on the bench as chairman of the board, whose decisions are final. Similar bodies exist in every State. Most of the cases heard relate to dependents and to special occupations. Neither the law itself nor the President had laid down specific rules for exemption, and there was some lack of uniformity in acting upon claims made by reason of married status or private employment—agricultural work, for example—contributing to the successful prosecution of war. This New York City board dismissed an average of five out of six appeals which came before it, holding that the government's military needs were paramount.)

of the Aircraft Production Board—because a large amount of preliminary work must be done before the great fleet of airplanes and the host of flyers are ready to take their places on the fighting fronts. But the work is being pushed as expeditiously as possible. Factories and automobile plants are being rapidly put into shape for turning out aerial equipment, and many noted engineers and mechanical experts are coöperating in securing the best results in the shortest possible time. Meanwhile, the training of our flyers is also proceeding at various camps, not only in the United States, but in Canada and France. By next summer, it is confidently anticipated, America's aerial prowess will make itself felt over the fighting areas.

**Drafting
the New
Army**

Coincident with the hurried preparation of the cantonments for the housing of our new National Army, the examination of the drafted men has been proceeding with dispatch in every section of the country during the past month. The boards of examination and appeal have had their hands full with the work of certifying the men, their labors having been complicated by the necessity for a fair and accurate interpretation of the War Department's regulations. Various new rulings and the adoption of a stricter governmental policy have had the effect of making it more difficult to gain exemption, with the result of increasing the number of men accepted

for service. Considering the vastness of the undertaking and the non-military traditions of our country, the operations of the draft for the new army have proceeded with remarkable smoothness. It is planned to call the new army into service in four instalments—30 per cent. of the quota of each district to entrain for the cantonments on September 5; 30 per cent. on September 15; 30 per cent. on September 30, and the remainder soon afterward. The harvesting requirements in the agricultural sections will be taken into consideration in determining the time for calling out men who are connected with farming work. The entire first increment of 687,000 of the new army is expected to be in training by the early part of October.

**Reconstruction
in
Mexico**

A year ago the greater part of the armed forces of the United States were in Mexico or along the border. Since their withdrawal, last February, conditions in the southern republic have steadily improved; and a seemingly hopeless situation has become one with a bright outlook. In the newspapers last month there appeared a statement by Mr. Henry Bruère, upon his return to the United States after ten weeks spent in Mexico assisting the Carranza government in the reconstruction of its financial affairs. Mr. Bruère—who was formerly a director of the Bureau of Municipal Research, of New York City, and City Chamberlain in the Mitchel administration—was invited by General Car-

ranza to study the financial and administrative situation in Mexico and make recommendations. He found the military situation still paramount, but with peace and order prevailing. The vast sums necessary to carry on the government and do the work of reconstruction are not in sight, although revenues are larger than ever before. Mr. Bruère believes that Mexico's salvation will come from within, particularly if the able men of the republic forget their grievances and come forward to cooperate. He expects to return to Mexico in November, for service with Mr. Cabrera and others upon a financial commission appointed by President Carranza. In this number of the REVIEW we are publishing an article upon Mexican progress which we regard as of authoritative value, and which fully harmonizes with the statements of Mr. Bruère in the press.

*Let Students
Finish Their
Course!*

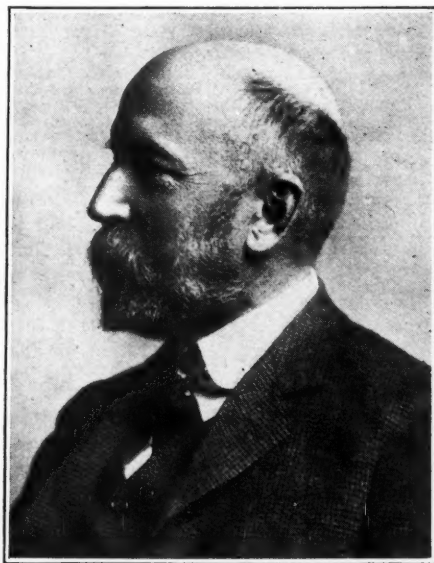
We are publishing in this number a very important and timely article by Dr. Lyman P. Powell, president of Hobart College, New York, on the outlook for the colleges and universities this coming season. It is the firm opinion of President Wilson and other leaders in government and education that the freshman classes ought to open with full strength and that the colleges should make a great effort to carry on all branches of their work. Every effort should be made to persuade students that the Government does not want them until they have graduated. Meanwhile, every college and higher school should prepare its young men, in so far as it can, for service as good citizens; and to this end—our nation being at war—all students should be given, in their recreation hours, regular military instruction and vigorous drill and training. With this preliminary work, college graduates will be in position to offer themselves for intensive training in any one of the

special branches of service to which the Government may choose to assign them. It is desirable that qualified students should enter the freshman class at an early age, and try to graduate as soon as possible after completing their twenty-first year. Many English and Canadian officers who have been wounded would make admirable military instructors in American colleges and schools.

*An
Educational
Leader*

One of the greatest educational leaders of our time was taken from his work by sudden death last month, in the person of the principal of the famous Institute at Hampton, Vir-

ginia. Dr. Hollis B. Frissell was not merely a devoted friend of the colored races in America, and an authority upon Negro and Indian education; he was also eminent as a leader in educational reform and in the combination of industrial, agricultural, and household work with training in the branches of a general education. He had been associated with General Armstrong in the earlier days of the Hampton Institute, and had succeeded to the headship of the institution on General Armstrong's death twenty-four years ago. Dr.



DR. HOLLIS B. FRISSELL

Frissell had served for many years on educational boards of nation-wide influence, and his personal work, as well as the great institution he directed, was known to educators throughout the world. He was a leader in the agricultural progress of the South; and his interest in the progress of Negroes on the land had brought him into long and intimate association with Sir Horace Plunkett, whose efforts for the well-being of Irish peasant farmers have just now resulted in his unanimous appointment as chairman of the Irish convention sitting at Dublin. In a future number of the REVIEW we shall have occasion to speak in more detail of the work of Dr. Frissell in the development of the Hampton Institute.

RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From July 19 to August 20, 1917)

The Last Part of July

July 19.—A German counter-offensive (north of the scene of Russia's advance in Galicia) is assisted by mutiny among the Russian defenders, who first debate and then refuse to fight.

July 20.—Alexander F. Kerensky, the popular Minister of War in Russia, is made Premier upon the resignation of Lvoff.

July 21.—Premier Lloyd George, of Great Britain, denounces the German Chancellor's address to the Reichstag as proposing "a sham independence for Belgium, a sham democracy for Germany, a sham peace for Europe."

July 22.—The Germans launch a violent attack against French positions on the plateau north of Craonne.

The Kingdom of Siam (southeastern Asia) declares war on Germany and Austria.

July 23.—Premier Kerensky is given "unlimited powers" by the Executive Councils of Russian Workmen and Soldiers and Peasants.

July 24.—The House of Commons votes a new war credit of \$3,250,000,000, bringing Great Britain's war expenditures to a total of \$26,460,000,000.

July 25.—The German report announces the occupation of Tarnopol and Stanislaw, in Galicia.

The Rumanian army, in cooperation with Russian contingents, launches an offensive against the Austro-Germans.

A Russian women's battalion, designated officially as the Command of Death, goes into action against the Germans near Smorgon.

A convention of leaders of factions in Ireland assembles at Dublin, with ninety-two delegates, to endeavor to settle the Irish question; Sir Horace Plunkett is chosen as chairman.

July 26.—The demoralized Russian retreat in Galicia continues, the Austro-Germans having advanced more than fifty miles in one week; in Volhynia, to the north, and in Rumania, to the south, the Russians remain firm.

July 27.—A second contingent of American troops arrives at a European port.

At a conference of Entente Allies, on Balkan problems, it is agreed to withdraw French, British, and Italian troops from ancient Greece, Thessaly, and Epirus, but to retain General Sarraill's army at Salonica.

Premier Lloyd George states that Great Britain has enrolled more than 5,000,000 soldiers, besides nearly 500,000 men in the navy and nearly 1,000,000 from the dominions and colonies.

Official figures show that this year's crop acreage in England and Wales increased 6 per cent.

German aircraft raid Paris (at night) for the first time in a year and a half; only two bombs are dropped in the city.

July 30.—The British Admiralty announces that the cruiser *Ariadne* (11,000 tons) has been torpedoed and sunk, with a loss of thirty-eight lives.

The French High Commissioner to the United States, Andre Tardieu, makes public some statistics regarding France's part in the war; the present fighting strength is 3,000,000 men, who hold 356 miles, or more than two-thirds of the entire Western front; losses (killed, missing, and prisoners) have decreased from 2.39 per cent. of mobilized strength in the first six months of 1915 to 1.28 per cent. in the second six months of 1916.

July 31.—A new offensive against the Germans is begun on a front of twenty miles in Flanders (Belgium), French troops being brought northward to assist the British; German official reports had described the preliminary artillery duel as "representing the highest degree of massed effect in the war"; more than 6,000 Germans are captured and a maximum advance of two and a half miles accomplished.

It is stated in Switzerland that Germany has agreed to assume the war expenses of Bulgaria and Turkey in the coming year.

The American oil-tank steamer *Montano* (armed) is torpedoed without warning by a German submarine, sixteen of the crew and eight of the naval force losing their lives.

The First Week of August

August 1.—German counter-attacks win back several positions lost the previous day; heavy rains interfere with the progress of the Franco-British offensive.

August 2.—General Korniloff becomes commander-in-chief of the Russian armies, General Brusiloff believing reorganization difficulties too great to overcome.

August 3.—The Root mission to Russia returns to the United States.

Czernowitz, capital of Bukowina, is occupied by Austro-German forces—ending the third prolonged Russian occupation of the city.

Finland's declaration of independence is declared illegal by the Russian provisional government, as lacking the sanction of the Russian government or people; provision is made for submitting the question of future relations to a new Finnish parliament to be chosen on October 1.

The Russian Foreign Minister, Terestschenko, resigns; the military governor of Petrograd, General Erdelli, is assassinated.

August 4.—French Socialists in the Chamber of Deputies, for the first time since the beginning of the war, refuse to vote confidence in the government; the ministry obtains a majority of 331.

August 6.—The German cabinet is reorganized under the new Chancellor, Dr. Michaelis; Richard von Kuehlmann (Ambassador to Turkey) becomes Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The American oil-tank steamer *Campana* (armed) is sunk by a German submarine off the west coast of France; it is believed that the captain and five of the naval guard are made prisoners.

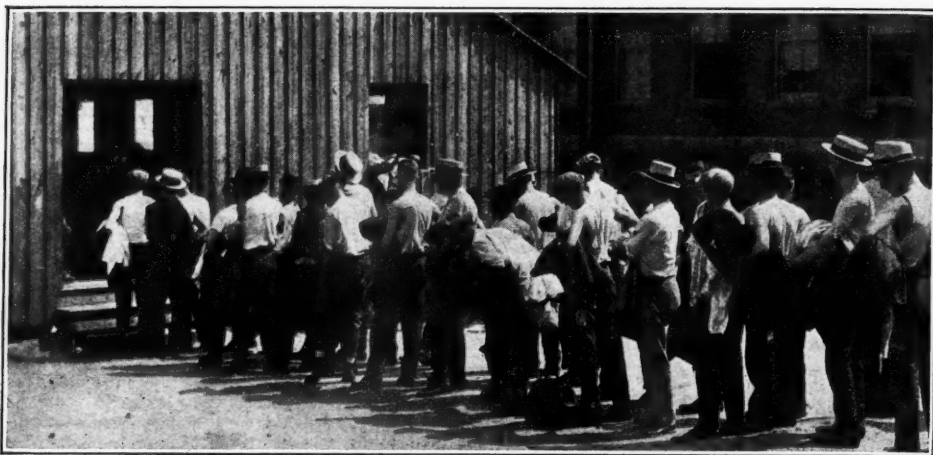
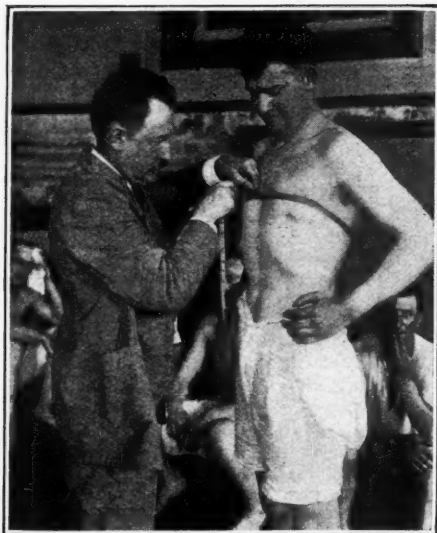


Photo by American Press Association

REGISTERED MEN WAITING TO BE EXAMINED FOR THE DRAFT ARMY



© Underwood & Underwood, New York

UNDERGOING PHYSICAL EXAMINATION

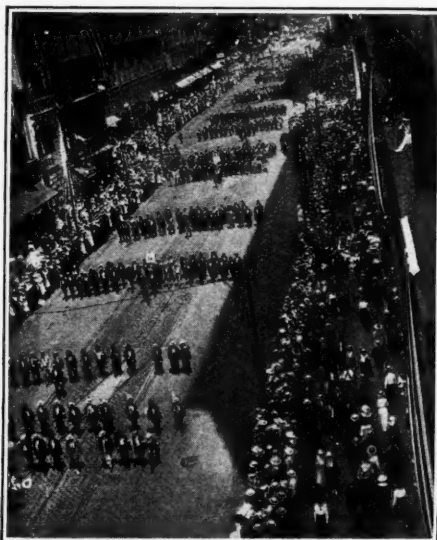
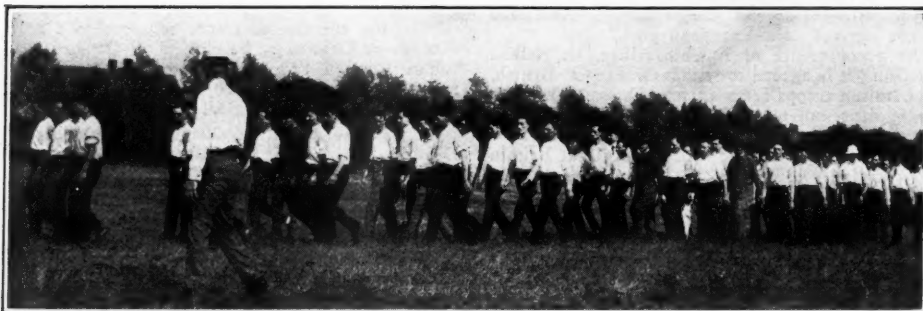


Photo by International Film Service

ACCEPTED MEN PARADING IN CHICAGO



Photograph by Paul Thompson

AT THEIR FIRST DRILL—SOME OF UNCLE SAM'S NEW SOLDIERS AT GOVERNOR'S ISLAND, NEW YORK
ORGANIZING THE AMERICAN NATIONAL ARMY,—COUNTRY-WIDE SCENES

August 7.—Liberia, the negro republic on the west coast of Africa, declares war on Germany.

An Austro-German force under Field Marshal von Mackensen begins an offensive against the Russo-Rumanian troops near Fokshani, on the northern Rumanian front.

The Second Week of August

August 8.—The Canadian conscription bill passes its third reading in the Senate, the last legislative stage; the measure will first affect single men between twenty and thirty-two.

August 10.—Renewing the offensive in Flanders, the British capture the village of Westhoek.

A conference of British Labor Party representatives (600 delegates) votes by a large majority to participate in the Stockholm International Socialist conference, reversing a former decision.

August 11.—Arthur Henderson, secretary of the British Labor Party, resigns his office as a member of the British War Cabinet, owing to the Government's dissatisfaction with his support of the Stockholm Socialist conference.

August 12.—Twenty German airplanes drop bombs on towns along the east coast of England, killing thirty-two persons.

August 13.—A Japanese mission to the United States, headed by Viscount Ishii, arrives at a Pacific port.

The House of Commons is informed that permission will not be given to British delegates to attend the International Socialist Conference at Stockholm.

August 14.—The Chinese Government declares war on Germany and Austria, to obtain "respect for international law and protection of the lives and property of Chinese citizens."

Nicholas, deposed Czar of Russia, is removed from Tsarskoe-Selo Palace—his destination reported to be Siberia.

The Third Week of August

August 15.—A peace appeal to the belligerents by Pope Benedict is made public at London (dated August 1); his suggestions for the basis of a just and durable peace are: disarmament, evacuation of Belgian and French territory, restitution of German colonies, and settlement of political and territorial questions (Alsace-Lorraine, Poland, etc.) in a conciliatory spirit for the general welfare.

Canadian troops capture Hill 70, dominating from the northwest the important French coal city of Lens and declared by the Germans to be impregnable.

American troops from a training camp in England parade through the streets of London, amid scenes declared to be unequalled since the beginning of the war.

Herr von Waldow becomes Food Controller in Germany, succeeding von Batocki.

Dr. Jean Adolphe Sulzer, new Swiss minister (who also has charge of German interests) arrives in the United States.

August 16.—Premier Lloyd George informs the House of Commons that destruction of British vessels by German submarines and mines has decreased from 560,000 tons in April, and 320,000 tons in June, to an estimated loss of 170,000 during



PREMIER VENIZELOS AND GENERAL REGNAULT

(Upon the forced abdication of King Constantine, Eleutherios Venizelos returned to power as Premier; and formal announcement was soon made that Greece considered herself at war with Germany and Austria. At a war council on Balkan affairs [held in Paris late in July], it was decided to withdraw Allied troops from all Greek territory except Salonica—where General Sarraïl remains in command of a large, inactive force of French, British, and Italian troops)

August; tonnage added by new construction during 1917 will total 1,900,000; the average net loss has been 250,000 tons monthly since February.

The French and British resume the battle in Flanders, driving the Germans from the village of Langemarck.

August 17-18.—One hundred and eleven French airplanes drop fourteen tons of projectiles on aviation camps and railroad stations behind the German lines.

August 18.—Russian prisoners taken by Austro-Germans since the beginning of the offensive on July 19 are officially stated to number 42,000, besides hundreds of guns and vast quantities of war material.

A large Canadian munitions plant at Rigaud, near Montreal, is completely destroyed by an explosion; the loss of life is comparatively small.

August 19.—Italian activity on a large scale is renewed on the Julian and Carso fronts.

Observers on the French front report a change in German defensive methods, from lines of trenches (which were proving vulnerable to massed artillery attack) to an irregular system of strongly fortified holes made by enemy shells.

RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From July 20 to August 20, 1917)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

July 21.—The Senate adopts a compromise bill establishing Government control over foods and fuel by a board of three members, fixing a minimum price of \$2 per bushel for 1918 wheat, prohibiting the use of food materials in the production of distilled liquors, and creating a joint Congressional committee of ten members on "expenditures in the conduct of the war." . . . The bill appropriating \$640,000,000 for aircraft is passed without change.

July 23.—In the Senate, Mr. Lewis (Dem., Ill.) characterizes the speech of German Chancellor Michaelis as a direct bid to the United States to use its influence for peace.

July 24.—The Senate Committee on Finance is informed by Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo that \$5,000,000,000, in addition to previous estimates, will be required to carry the war to June 30, 1918.

July 26.—In the Senate, Mr. Borah (Rep., Id.) declares that the outlook for the Entente Allies was never so menacing as now—with Russia prac-

tically out of the conflict, with France at its maximum, and with destruction by submarines increasing rapidly. . . . The annual Rivers and Harbors appropriation bill (\$28,000,000) is adopted.

The House receives the Treasury Department's deficiency estimates for War Department projects, totaling \$5,278,636,000, half of which is for armament.

August 1.—The Senate (by vote of 65 to 20) adopts a resolution for submitting an amendment to the federal Constitution prohibiting the manufacture, sale, transportation, importation, or exportation of intoxicating liquors; it is provided that the article shall be inoperative unless ratified within six years.

August 2.—The Senate adopts without discussion a resolution requesting the President to seek permission from foreign governments to apply the Selective Draft law to their citizens in the United States.

The Senate and House conferees reach an agreement on differences in the Food Administration bill; the Senate provisions for a three-man food-control board and for a Congressional war expenditures board are dropped.

August 3.—The House adopts conference reports on the Food Administration and the Food Survey bills.

August 4.—The Senate adopts conference reports on the measure extending authority to the President to designate priority of shipment in certain classes of freight and also the bill increasing membership of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

August 6.—The Senate Finance Committee for the second time reports the War Revenue bill, after further revision; the measure as reintroduced would yield \$2,006,970,000 (an increase of \$337,000,000).

August 8.—The Senate adopts the conference reports on the Food Control and the Food Survey bills.

August 11.—In the Senate, Mr. LaFollette (Rep., Wis.) introduces a resolution demanding a "re-statement of Allied peace terms based on a disavowal of advantages either in the way of indemnities, territorial acquisitions, commercial privileges, or economic prerogatives."

August 14.—The Senate and House Finance Committees are informed by Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo that war needs will require, from this and the coming regular session of Congress, a bond issue of \$9,000,000,000 (in addition to the \$7,000,000,000 already authorized) and taxation revenue \$1,000,000,000 in excess of the \$2,000,000,000 provided for in the revenue measure now pending.

August 17.—The House Ways and Means Committee receives suggestions from the Secretary of the Treasury contemplating the issuance of \$7,500,000,000 of 4 per cent. bonds, subject to in-



HON. WESTMORELAND DAVIS, OF VIRGINIA

(Mr. Davis was nominated for Governor last month, after a contest in the Democratic primaries as against the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. J. Taylor Ellyson, and the Attorney-General, Mr. John G. Pollard. Mr. Davis has taken a large interest in the agricultural development of Virginia, being a practical farmer as well as a member of the legal profession. His success is regarded as a triumph for the independent as against the regular elements of the party. The prohibition question seems to have been involved in a somewhat confused way)

come surtaxes—to provide \$4,000,000,000 for loans to the Allies and to retire the \$3,000,000,000 3½ per cent. issue already authorized.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

July 23.—In a letter to Congressman Lever, President Wilson declares that the proposal to create a Congressional committee on expenditures in the conduct of the war would "render my task of conducting the war practically impossible."

July 24.—The controversy in the Shipping Board is ended by the resignation of Chairman Denman and General Goethals, manager of the construction work; Edward N. Hurley becomes chairman of the board and Rear-Adm. Washington L. Capps is named as manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

July 28.—It is stated that since the United States entered the war, on April 6, voluntary enlistments in the army and navy, militia, reserve corps, and training camps, have totaled 558,858.

The Council of National Defense announces the creation of a War Industries Board, of seven members, headed by Frank A. Scott, of Cleveland, to supervise expenditures.

July 31.—Official figures of American trade for the year ending June 30, 1917, show imports totaling \$2,659,000,000 and exports of \$6,294,000,000—the combined foreign trade being 35 per cent. in excess of the previous year.

August 5.—The National Guard (approximately 300,000 men) passes into the federal service.

August 6.—The Texas House of Representatives, sitting as a committee of the whole, begins an investigation of alleged improper acts by Governor Ferguson.

August 7.—In the Virginia Democratic primary, Westmoreland Davis is chosen for Governor.

August 9.—Enlistments in the regular army reach the authorized maximum of 300,000; since April 1 recruiting has totaled 184,000.

August 10.—The President signs the Food Control bill and appoints Herbert Hoover as Food Administrator (see page 283).

August 12.—Food Administrator Hoover makes public his plan for stabilizing the price of wheat; a fair price for the 1917 harvest is to be determined by a committee headed by Harry A. Garfield, president of Williams College.

August 13.—The War Department orders the mobilization of the new National Army (the men being under examination by local boards throughout the country) in four increments, the first to entrain on September 5.

August 15.—The Food Administration forms a \$50,000,000 corporation, the stock being owned by the Government, to buy and sell wheat.

August 17.—It is stated at Washington that two divisions of National Guard troops (38,000) will be organized for early departure to France; each division will comprise troops from more than twenty States.

August 18.—Official figures of the country's armed forces are made public: regular army 305,700, National Guard 311,000, reserve corps 93,000 (total land forces 710,024); sea forces 233,117; grand total 943,141.

The Secretary of the Treasury appeals for the passage of the bill before Congress which provides life insurance and disability compensation for soldiers and sailors, besides allowances for dependent families while in service.

August 19.—New regulations by the Bureau of War Risk Insurance require merchant ships sailing across the Atlantic to be armed, painted to reduce visibility, provided with smokeless fuel, and equipped with appliances for producing smoke clouds to escape torpedo attack.

Army authorities at Spokane, Wash., arrest local officials of the Industrial Workers of the World, charging them with ordering strikes in the lumber and fruit industries and preaching sedition.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

August 1.—The Canadian Parliament is informed of the Government's plan to take over the Canadian Northern Railway (already 60 per cent. Government-owned), which with the Intercolonial Railway will give the Government a coast-to-coast system; eventually the Grand Trunk Pacific will also be acquired.

August 14.—Unrest in Spain develops into a general strike, rioting and revolutionary outbreaks (particularly in Barcelona).

August 16.—José Gutierrez Guerra is inaugurated President of Bolivia.

OBITUARY

July 20.—Prince von Radolin, former German Ambassador at Paris.

July 21.—Jesse Benedict Carter, director of the American Academy in Rome, 45.

July 24.—Manton Marble, proprietor of the New York *World* during the Civil War, 82.

July 27.—William Bullock Clark, professor of geology in Johns Hopkins University, 56.

July 28.—Rear-Adm. Stephen B. Luce, U. S. N., retired, known as the founder of the Naval War College at Newport, 90.

July 30.—Gen. Harrison Gray Otis, publisher of the Los Angeles *Times*, veteran of the Civil and Spanish wars, and noted opponent of organized labor, 80.

August 2.—Raphael Kirchner, the artist, 41.

August 3.—Major-Gen. John F. Weston, U. S. A., retired, 71.

August 5.—Dr. Hollis B. Frissell, for twenty-four years principal of Hampton Institute, 66. . . . Sir Richard McBride, recently Premier of British Columbia, 46. . . . William J. Carr, Justice of the Supreme Court of New York, 54. . . . Horace Olin Young, recently Member of Congress from Michigan, 67.

August 9.—Rt. Rev. Nicholas Matz, Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Denver, 67.

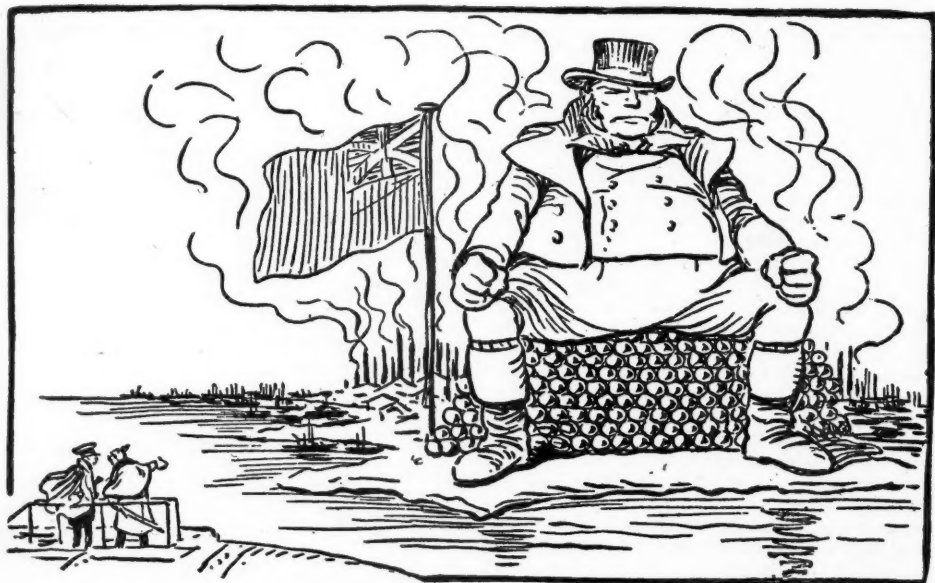
August 15.—George Blickensderfer, inventor of typewriting and other mechanical devices, 67.

August 17.—John W. Kern, recently United States Senator from Indiana and Democratic nominee for Vice-President in 1908, 68.

August 18.—George L. Rives, Assistant Secretary of State under President Cleveland, and a leader in New York City legal and educational affairs, 68.

THE WAR IN CARTOONS

I. OUR ALLIES' VIEWS



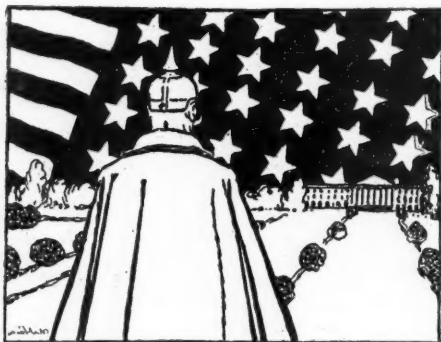
JOHN BULL, OF LONDON, ANCRE, AND BAGDAD

THE KAISER: "Admiral! Is this what you call bringing him to his knees in seven weeks?"

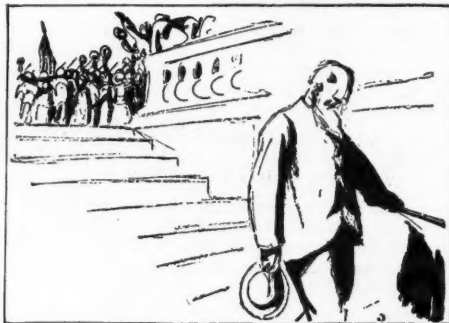
From *Le Rire* (Paris)

OUR cartoon department this month is devoted entirely to foreign war cartoons taken from periodicals not only of our

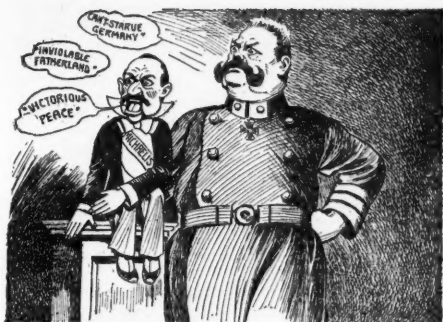
Allies but also from enemy sources—Germany and Austria. Our readers will doubtless be interested in the contrasting treat-



THE KAISER'S NIGHTS
(Are now full of American stars)
From *L'Echo de Paris* (Paris)



AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN PARIS
PACIFIST: "Confound it! Now we shall simply have to be victorious."
From *La Victoire* (Paris)



THE MERRY CHANCELLOR MICHAELIS

SHOWMAN HINDENBURG: "Watch closely, gentlemen. My lips don't move. 'Tis the voice of the people."

From the *News of the World* (London)



THE KAISER AS AN ACROBAT

"Hurry up, Field Marshal Hindenburg, or they will crush me all at once." From *Pele-Mele* (Paris)

ment of various war topics as shown in the cartoons of both sides. Our allies continue to defy the German submarine warfare, and



THROWN TO THE PUP

The pup gets something to worry, just to keep him from biting Dad. (The fall of Bethmann-Hollweg is supposed to be a sop to the Crown Prince.)

From *The Westminster Gazette* (London)



THE PATIENT ASS (THE GERMAN PEOPLE)

MICHAELIS: "I wonder how long he'll stand it?"
From *Reynold's Newspaper* (London)



THE SCRAPPER SCRAPPED (BETHMANN-HOLLWEG)

From *Punch* (London)



THE AUSTRIAN DOG TRIES TO GET AT THE "SEPARATE PEACE" DISH!

GERMANY: "Come back here, Towser."

From *La Rire* (Paris)



THE GERMAN PEACE DOVE

(It is still a Prussian eagle)

From *La Victoire* (Paris)



THE OBSTACLE TO PEACE

From *The People* (London)

also make much of the entrance of America into the battle arena. They look on the new German Chancellor Michaelis as being merely the mouthpiece of the war party in Germany, who continues to feed the patient German people with prophecies of victory and promises of reforms—though it is hint-



GENERAL HAIG'S SHADOW

THE HOHENZOLLERNS: "It is better to give up. As long as this cloud is there, there will always be a storm."

From *Numero* (Turin)



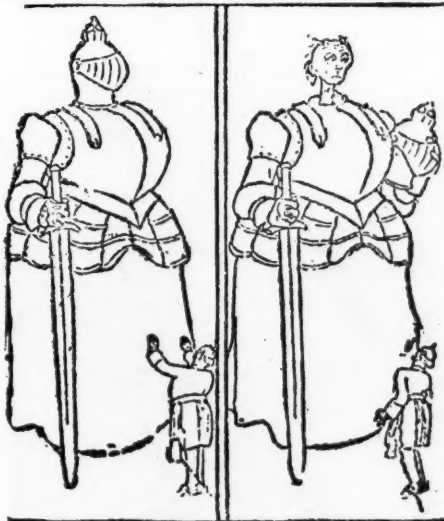
THE RIDE OF KERENSKY
(Controlling the Russian revolution)
From *Il 420* (Florence)

ed that the German people are gradually being disillusioned. It is also pointed out that peace is incompatible with Prussianism. The desires of Austria for a separate peace are suspected of being held in check by Germany. As for Russia, Kerensky is given credit for his arduous labors in behalf of a stable government and his masterful control of the situation in that country. This herculean task of reestablishing a firm government in Russia has been greatly hampered—



RUSSIA'S DARK HOUR
From *Punch* (London)

as the American commission has pointed out—by German intrigue.



DISILLUSIONMENT

THE KAISER: "Oh, magnificent Germany! This is your third year of fighting, and your armour still resists the onslaughts of your enemies. Invincible Germany!"
GERMANY: "Quite so; but look closer!"

From the *Journal* (Odessa)



THE POTSDAM SPHINX FOUND OUT!

THE GERMAN PEOPLE: "O, Majesty! Your riddle of victories on every front has remained unsolved for three years, but now we know the answer—the utter defeat of Germany and the doom of the Hohenzollern!"

From the *Passing Show* (London)



A RUSSIAN SATIRE ON THE RUSSIANS

ORDINARY RUSSIAN CITIZEN (apostrophising the former police): "O dear shade of the past! If you only knew how my soul yearns for your return to remove this sun of liberty which is too strong for my poor skin."

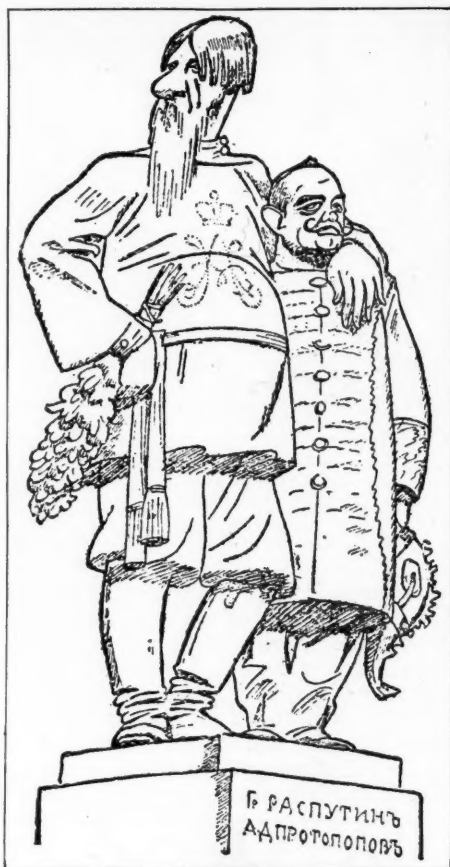
From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd)

Not the least interesting comment on Russia comes from the Russian periodical *Novy Satirikon*, which deprecates the spirit of anarchy and intimates satirically that perhaps the sudden daylight of liberty is too dazzling



THE SPIRIT OF ANARCHY!

From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd)

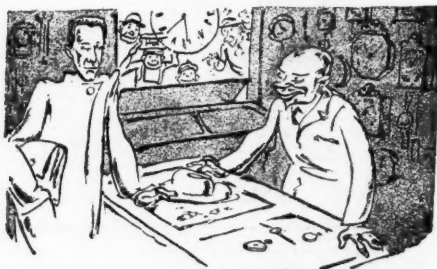


THE LIBERATORS OF RUSSIA

Proposed memorial to Rasputin and Sturmer, fathers of the Russian Revolution.

From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd)

for those long used to the night of autocracy. It also proposes a memorial to the monk Rasputin and former Premier Sturmer, whose traitorous activities did much to precipitate the revolution in Russia.

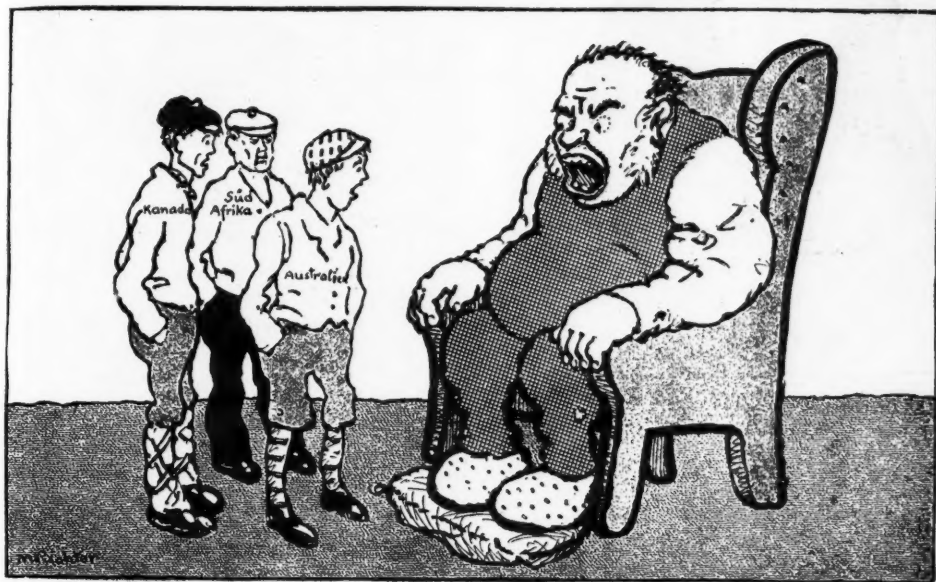


THE OVERWORKED RUSSIAN MINISTRY

KERENSKY: "Have you a thirty-hour clock? The twenty-four-hour kind are useless in my ministry."

From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd)

II. THE ENEMY'S OPINIONS



OLD JOHN BULL BORROWS FROM THE DOMINION BOYS

"Youngsters, ship over some food, so that your brave old father may not starve!"
 "Old man, old man—you eat such an enormous lot!"

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)



STRANGLING JOHN BULL

"Pull it tight, Michel! He is beginning to choke already!"

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)



ENGLAND SUFFERING FROM SUBMARINES

"What is the matter with John?"
 "Oh, U-Boatitis is affecting his digestion!"

From *Der Brummer* (Berlin)

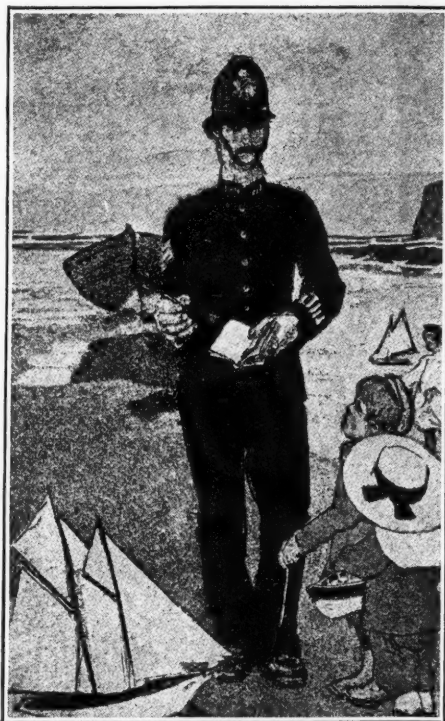


GULLIVER BULL APPROPRIATING THE SHIPS OF
LILLIPUTIAN GREECE
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)

IT is difficult to learn the real state of public opinion in Germany and Austria, owing to the interruption of communication and the stoppage of periodicals from these countries. The German and Austrian cartoons which we have managed to gather together for reproduction in these pages are therefore all the more interesting as throwing light on Teuton sentiment with regard to various phases of the war. The German



JOHN BULL IS SICK
"Goddam! Things are bad with me! I have to eat
Greek ships because of my tonnage consumption!"
From *Jugend* (Munich)



HOW ENGLAND PADS HER SHIP LIST
"I must make a memorandum of your ship . . . it
is the 270th that has arrived at these coasts this week."
From *Simplicissimus* (Munich)



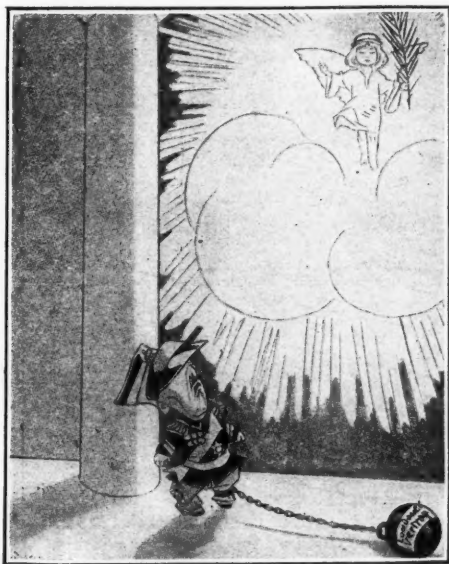
THE LAST ACT
LLOYD GEORGE: "A ship! A ship! My kingdom for
a ship!"
From *Jugend* (Munich)



THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE

BRITANNIA (to the little pacifists): "Stay here! You must not play with those common children!"
(England has refused passports to English delegates to the Stockholm conference) From *Lustige Blätter* (Berlin)

people seem to be confident of the effectiveness of their submarines, and gloat over the



ITALY AND THE PEACE MESSAGE

THE ITALIAN KING: "I hear the message, indeed. If I only could make a separate peace."
(But the "London agreement" weight prevents)
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)

Sept.—3



THE DOUBTER

MISS PEACE: "I shall not knock at this vulgar person's door again! He will soon come and beg me to enter."

From *Lustige Blätter* (Berlin)

dire straits to which England is being reduced as a result. John Bull—according to these cartoons—is starving for food and for ships, and is on the verge of collapse.

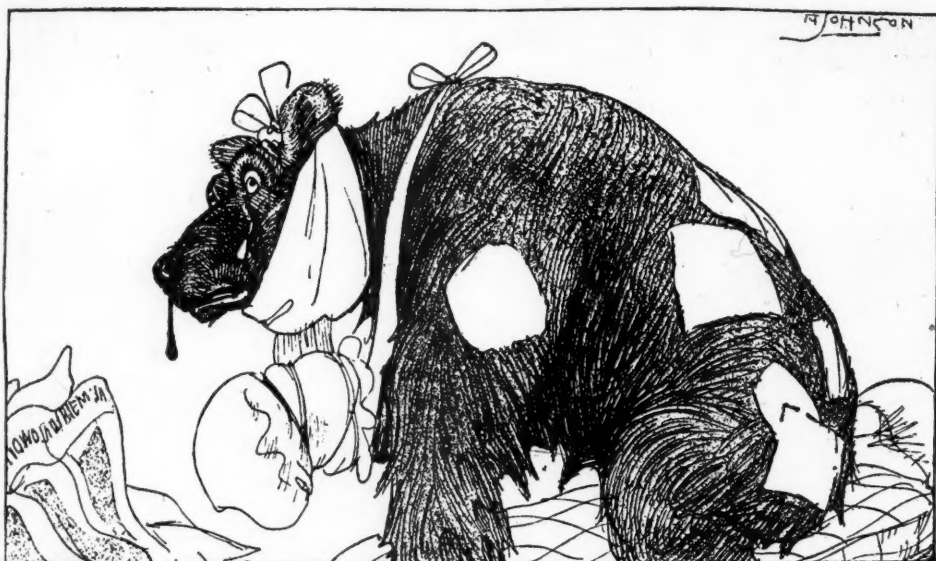
England, as always during the war, continues to be the main target for the shafts of Teutonic satire. She is blamed for blocking the path of peace, for preventing her allies from making a separate peace, for stealing



THE BIG DRUM

ENGLAND: "Come and act with me, neutrals. It is always with a view to the peace of the world."

From *Ulk* (Berlin)



A CONTRADICTION

THE RUSSIAN BEAR: "Something is wrong with the world! First Hindenburg beats me, then he tears my skin off and breaks my bones—and for this Hanover makes him a veterinary doctor."

(The Veterinary School of Hanover has given Hindenburg an honorary doctor's degree.)

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)

Greece's ships, for dragging China into war, and for numerous other offenses. Russia also comes in for considerable attention, although there is no such hatred exhibited toward her as there is toward England. The

German cartoonists see Russia as a much-beaten adversary, and prefer to believe that Russia has suffered rather than benefited by her change of government.



RUSSIA'S TRUE POSITION

"I did not think the honey of freedom was like this."

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)



CHINA'S ENTRANCE INTO THE WAR

Another to whom John Bull has just granted the disposal of his own destiny.

From *Jugend* (Munich)



THE STRONG MAN

LLOYD GEORGE: "To accept such peace proposals would mean to put one's head into the noose. No, I am not going to do that."

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)



WILSON AND THE PEACE-ANGEL

"Don't blame me, my beautiful child, or even greet me under the palms!"

From *Die Muskete* (Vienna)



DEATH IN FLANDERS

"Mankind! Stop! I can go no further!"

From *Simplicissimus* (Munich)



THE FOUR HUNGRY MUSICIANS (GREAT BRITAIN, RUSSIA, ITALY, AND FRANCE)

"But this fellow [Germany] still has food!"

From *Lustige Blätter* (Berlin)



HAPPY GREETING OF SLAVIC EX-KINGS

"So, we Pan Slavists are now united!"
(King Peter of Servia, the late Czar Nicholas of Russia, and King Nicholas of Montenegro.)

From *Simplicissimus* (Munich)



Photographs copyrighted by International Film Service and Underwood & Underwood, New York

RUSSIA'S WOMEN SOLDIERS,—THE "BATTALION OF DEATH"

This unique fighting organization, formed of women and girls of all classes in Russia, has already taken a valiant part in battle. In an engagement on July 25, near Smorgon, many of their number were killed or wounded. These women soldiers do not fear death, but are said to carry poison with them for use in case of capture.

The top picture shows them receiving their service caps, which they wear at jaunty angles. The first picture in the second row shows Madame Botchkalev, who organized and commands the legion. The center picture reveals the man-like, close-cropped heads of the women, while to the right is one of the splendid specimens of Russia's fighting womanhood. In the bottom picture the women are seen training in skirmish formation.

RUSSIAN COLLAPSE, BRITISH ATTACK, AND THE POPE'S PEACE PROPOSAL

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE RUSSIAN BREAKDOWN

THREE events of major importance have marked the August history of the World War. These are the Russian breakdown, the new British offensive, in which the French have taken an important but relatively subordinate part, and the peace proposal of the Pope. I shall discuss them in the order of their occurrence, which is, perhaps, the order of their importance.

The Russian breakdown came as a surprise to the world which had been once more filled with optimistic reports and taken in by the initial successes of the new Russian offensive in Galicia. My readers will recall that two months ago I warned them that Russia could no longer be counted upon in the military operations of the year, because of the disorganization of Russian armies incident to the Revolution. Last month, again, in the face of superficial successes of the Russians I again advised against too great expectations. Unhappily these warnings have now been fully justified and it is essential to recognize that Russia will not be a stable force in the military operations of the present year.

Now the consequences of this fact are plain. First of all it is not only patent that there can be no military decision on any front in the present year, but also that the Allies have already accepted this fact and their operations are designed rather to continue a maximum of pressure upon the Western front than to seek a decision with the resources in their hands. And this means but one thing, it means that the Allies feel that they will not have the man power necessary until the armies of the United States arrive. It means that the United States will have to share in the decisive campaign and that this campaign will come in 1918, not in 1917. Russian failure has very clearly enlarged and expanded American duties and American participation in the actual fighting.

By reason of the Russian failure the Germans have been able to concentrate the great bulk of their men, their guns, their munitions in Belgium and Artois; they have been able to leave but a few and inferior troops in the East and this has enabled them to escape from the paralyzing effect of rapidly diminishing reserves and slowly declining artillery resources.

Had Russia been able to repeat her great performance of last year, her victories from June to September, there is little reason to question that we should have had this year, either a collapse of the German western front due to an attempt to hold lines too long for the available man-power, or a retreat of such magnitude as to disclose the actual condition of the German military establishment. The very retirement of the early spring was a partial confession, it was a patent attempt to avoid battle this year, to postpone an Allied attack by compelling the Allies to begin their preparations all over again on the new front and thus gain time for the submarine to accomplish its mission.

The German retreat was largely successful in postponing the Allied offensive, although not wholly. But we must note that the submarine failed in its mission; the time gained by the German retreat has not enabled the German undersea craft to bring Britain to her knees and the declarations and statistics furnished by Lloyd George this month indicate that not only is the submarine toll diminishing, but that the British Government is now confident that the submarine cannot next year accomplish what it has failed to bring to pass this year.

German salvation this year has come on land; it has come by the Russian collapse. The situation is as if in 1864 the armies operating in the West, the Union armies, had been suddenly thrown into disorder and rendered temporarily incapable of offensive operations, thus permitting the South to send

its troops facing Sherman and Thomas to the trench lines before Richmond, where Grant and Lee were deadlocked. Had this taken place there would have been no decision in the spring of 1865. And for the same reason there can hardly be a decision in the present war this year.

Germany has no longer the troops, the numbers to man the east and west fronts at their present extent in such fashion as to meet great offensive operations by the Anglo-French forces and by the Russian at the same time. When Russian armies collapsed in Galicia she lacked the forces to turn the Russian collapse into a complete ruin; she could not even prevent the gradual reconstitution of the routed and fleeing hordes and the establishment of a new front. What reserves, what resources she has, have been concentrated on the west front in a death struggle, with the conviction that if the German lines can hold until winter, peace by negotiation will save Germany. I believe the German lines can hold sufficiently until winter to prevent a disaster and then the peril of peace by negotiation will be plain.

No one should mistake the utter change in the character of the war. No one should mistake the fact that Germany is now engaged in a desperate defensive with no other hope or purpose than that to hold on until war weariness brings peace by negotiation. Recall that it is just three years ago that German armies were sweeping on to Paris, that Tannenberg was happening, that the French Government had fled to Bordeaux, that the British had been defeated at Mons and Le Cateau, the French at Morhange, Neufchateau, Charleroi, that Germany was about to celebrate that Sedan Day which was one of the most marvelous moments in the history of any nation or race.

And now after three years German armies on the western front are far removed from Paris and everywhere on the defensive, everywhere either yielding ground or striving by bloody counter-attacks to win back posts of great value recently lost. Nearly 75,000 German prisoners and more than 500 guns have been captured by the victorious French and British armies in the present campaign. Here is a measure of the turn of the tide, here is a measure that we must all keep in mind, even when the slowness of Allied progress suggests a permanent stalemate.

Germany is fighting magnificently. No one can deny admiration to the enemy who is, in the face of great odds and failing re-

sources, making a tremendous resistance, but the thing that must be recognized equally is that the fight is going against the German and that his salvation this year is found in the Russian collapse. When his reserves were well-nigh exhausted, the German was able with impunity to draw upon his eastern armies and in this resource he has found his temporary salvation.

II. WHAT HAPPENED TO RUSSIA

Now as to the actual story of the Russian breakdown. Last month we left the Russian armies south of the Dniester sweeping forward at some points, but still, in the main, halted by Austro-German efforts along the line of the Lomnica River, southeast of Lemberg and west of Stanislaw. Halicz had been taken, Kalusz taken and lost; the moment had come when this fight had reached a crisis.

Before there could be any determination of this battle, the whole Russian line north of the Dniester before Tarnopol and northward to the Lemberg-Brody railroad suddenly collapsed. There was no considerable German attack, there was no great engagement, but a panic, a rout ensued. German spies, German agents, anarchists and war-weary and deluded soldiers united in the destruction of discipline, and the army which had taken Koniuchy and threatened Brzezany two weeks ago was suddenly transformed into a fleeing horde, comparable to that army which set out from the battlefield of First Bull Run for Washington.

Even in this situation the German forces were unable to follow up the rabble and deal with it decisively. After a flight that extended to the Russian frontier the rally came. At last new troops and old troops disgusted with the performance returned to the charge, the Russian line was restored, and stood and stands at the frontier. But the retreat had surrendered the lines of the Sereth, all the ground won by the offensives of July 14, 16, and 17.

And the effect of this collapse of the Russian center in Galicia was to leave the victorious army south of the Dniester in the air. It had no choice but to fall rapidly back for a hundred miles through Bukovina to the Russian boundary, surrendering all of Bukovina and all of Galicia held since the opening of the campaign of last year. When the rearrangement was complete the Austrians once more could boast a soil practically

freed of the invader and this had not been the case since the very opening days of the war.

In men the Russians lost surprisingly little by this wretched performance. Official German figures placed the captures, up to mid-August from Rumania to the Bug, at only 42,000 men and 257 guns. In their offensives in April the British and French together had captured over 55,000 German prisoners and more than 400 guns. The Russians in their first two weeks this year, while the armies still fought, had taken 36,000 prisoners and captures in Rumania brought the balance even for the two forces on the Southeastern front. Compare this with 150,000 Austrian prisoners taken by the Russians after Lemberg in 1914 or 120,000 prisoners after the capture of Lutsk last year. The loss of guns was more serious, but the real disaster was the destruction of the cohesion of the Russian armies.

At a critical moment the inevitable effect of the domestic agitations had been felt and Germany had been saved from deadly peril, the peril flowing from the opening of a joint attack in the east and in the west. She could now concentrate her attention upon Belgium and Artois, for even if Russian armies could be reorganized and restored before the end of the campaigning season it was beyond possibility that they could conduct a new offensive.

And with this collapse we see Brusiloff, the greatest of Russian generals, give way to Korniloff; we see Kerensky and the new members of the Cabinet joining in drastic and far-reaching policies to restore discipline, and we see what promises to be a recrudescence of national sentiment and reasoned patriotism in Russia. The situation as the month ends is far better than when it opened. A Russo-Rumanian campaign in the fragment of Rumania left to its people has inflicted heavy losses, captured many prisoners, and temporarily checked a great counter-offensive of Marshal von Mackensen.

Yet it is unwise to expect much. Russia may presently find herself. She may discover a Carnot, as did Revolutionary France. We can see that if anything of the sort happens Russia will be a tremendous element in the campaign of 1918. But, on the other hand, Russia may again fall victim to German intrigue and national disorganization. The truth is that for all purposes of calculation the war has again gone west. It is in Belgium and Northern France that the

destiny of Europe must be again decided, and for this fight the Russian collapse has released German divisions and supplied a new cause for optimism to the German people.

More than all else, perhaps, the Russian breakdown strengthened the hand of the reactionaries in Germany, who prevailed in the recent crisis. Thus, one can say without exaggeration that the consequences of the peace propaganda in Russia have added another year to the war.

III. THE BRITISH OFFENSIVE

On August 1, one month later than their attack at the Somme last year, the British began a wide offensive operation. This year, at last, they were aided by French forces operating on one flank, this time the northern flank. The blow was at once identified in all Allied and German newspapers as the great western operation of 1917.

The ground selected for the attack is familiar to the readers of battle news during the past three years. On a front from the Lys to the Yser, over ground that had been fought for in October and November, 1914, in April and May, 1915 (that is, in the great battles of First and Second Ypres), the British advanced. Their attack was heralded by the greatest artillery bombardment in human history. In London itself the grumble of the guns was plainly audible and not only was the bombardment the heaviest on record but it was also the longest sustained.

As the British and French lines stood, when the operation began, the French occupied the lines to which their own troops, colonials, had been driven after the "poison gas" attack of 1915; that is, they stood behind the Yser Canal, from the region where the inundation of 1914 still endured down to the famous Poelkapelle road, notorious in the official reports of two and three years ago.

From this point the British line extended in a shallow circle two miles or more north and east of Ypres round to the Messines or "White Sheet" Ridge, retaken in the offensive of some weeks ago. The immediate objectives of the British were the Pilkem Ridge and the crossings of Steenback Stream, with the villages of Langemarck and St. Julien, lost when the French had collapsed under the gas attack in 1915. The French objectives were also the lost ground on their

front, Steenstrat and Het Sas across the canal and the triangle of land between the Canal and the, St. Jansbeck River, together with the bridgehead, where the Yser Canal joins this stream at Drei Grachten.

Westward, the objectives of the British center were the works and villages on the high ground of the Grafenstafel Ridge between Langemarck and the Menin Road, the northern end of the battlefield of the first great Battle of Ypres, which defeated the German effort to reach Calais. On the right, between the Menin Road and the Lys the objectives were the remaining vantage points, including the village of Hollenbeke, lost in 1914 and not recovered in the earlier attack upon the Messines Ridge this year.

Behind these immediate objectives lay the remoter goals sought when Sir John French had come north in 1914—the Menin road to the crossing of the Lys at this town, Roulers, with its railroad and roads, the point vital to the easy communication between the two adjoining German sectors. At Menin the British would threaten the German hold upon Lille; at Roulers the French would menace the whole German position in the region between the Lys and the sea.

Finally, an advance between the Lys and the sea, comparable with that achieved during and after the Battle of the Somme last year and last spring, would carry with it the German evacuation of the Belgian seacoast, the destruction of the submarine base at Zeebrugge, and the protection of Britain against air raids such as had grown frequent in recent months. Here, in a word, were the immediate and the remoter possibilities of the new operation.

Yet beyond these were other considerations, the necessity to relieve pressure upon the collapsing Russians by preventing the detachment of German reserves to the east to gather the profits of Russian weakness and the equal necessity to keep a never-ending pressure upon the Germans and to seek by wasting their rapidly diminishing reserves to prepare the way for a successful attack in 1918, when America should arrive, and it would be possible to undertake a general offensive such as had been planned for the present year and postponed by the Russian collapse.

Beside this last purpose all else was minor. The capture of ground was relatively immaterial; even the advance to the coast was less important, however useful. The chief objective of the British, aided gal-



THE NEW BRITISH OFFENSIVE
(Shaded area represents ground gained)

lantly but only in a relatively minor measure by their French allies, was the destruction of German man-power by the same sort of pounding that had made the Somme so terrible, a pounding bound to be less expensive for the British than the Germans because of the superiority of the British both in guns and in munitions.

And it was a significant turn of affairs that after three years the Germans should be compelled to face on the same ground what the British had suffered at the First Battle of Ypres, where they were outgunned and outnumbered.

IV. THE RESULTS TO AUGUST 20

Measured by ground gained the British did not win at Ypres a much larger victory than on the first day of the Somme a year before. While the French crossed the Yser Canal and retook Steenstrate, Het Sas, and Bixschoote, the British took Pilkem and the Pilkem Ridge, crossed the Steenback, and reached but could not take Langemarck, took but could not hold St. Julien, were checked with relatively shorter gains, which included Hooze and Hollebeke near the Menin Road, and gained the positions sought southward to the Lys.

On the average the British and French had advanced about a mile on a front of some fifteen miles. They had taken all the

first-line positions attacked and some of the second, but they had lost ground in the German counter attacks, which developed rapidly and with a fury recalling the April fighting at Arras. Despite these counter attacks the British presently retook St. Julien, Westhoeck, and Verlorenhoek and retained Frezenberg. Actually the operation ended with a success on all points save in the center, but this was the most important point of all. Here the Germans clung to the maze of defenses which covered Zonnebeke, Gheluvelt, and the Polygon woods between these two points. Right and left the British had, save about Langemarck, established the front of October, 1914, but they had not gained control of the famous Zandvorde Ridge, the extension of the high ground of the Messines Ridge, and the last good position remaining to the Germans, now that Pilkem Ridge had passed like "White Sheet" to hostile control.

Six thousand prisoners and a modest number of guns were the booty of the British in this attack, a smaller bag than that gained at Messines and hardly a quarter the profit drawn from the Arras "show." But the ground gained had been won at a cost far below that of the first day of the Somme and the British now began to reveal their new method—a method first seen at Messines, on the British front, a method that called for enormous artillery preparation, short advances, and then the consolidation of ground gained. French losses at the Aisne in April, where too much had been sought at one time, had proven a valuable lesson. Save for a small area in the center, the British attained all their objectives in this attack; the French reached all of theirs, but the Germans, alleging that the Allies had sought remote and impossible objectives, claimed a great victory and announced the end of the battle.

This was a dangerous assertion, for in the third week of August the French and British attacked again, the French successfully clearing all the south bank of St. Jansbeek, to the point of confluence of the Broenbeck, together with the bridgehead of Drei Grachten, while the British successfully stormed Langemarck and made progress in the Polygon woods between Zonnebeke and Gheluvelt. Yet once more the Germans were able to retake ground in this sector along the Menin Road and by counter-attacks reduce the British gains on this sector. Three thousand prisoners and some twenty-five guns, some of them heavy, were the reward of this

operation, the artillery booty being heavier than in the first attack. Again the fighting was of the most desperate order and again the advance was relatively slight, and this enabled the Germans to proclaim a new victory.

Meantime a new attack had broken out north of Lens on the slopes of the famous Hill 70, taken by the Scottish troops in the tragic days of the Battle of Loos and lost because of the breakdown of British staff work. After the familiar artillery preparation the Canadians advanced to the summit and over the crest of the hill, took all the German trenches and made material progress both on the east and the south sides, tightening the noose about Lens. It was now clear that unless German counter-attacks could oust the Canadians, Lens would have to be evacuated. Accordingly the Germans made some of the most desperate efforts of the whole campaign, hurling large bodies of troops again and again against the Canadians, but on August 19, when these lines are written, the Canadians still hold fast to Hill 70.

Thus, between April and the present date the British have been able to drive the Germans off the Vimy Ridge, off Hill 70, off the Messines Ridge and the Pilkem Ridge. Only at La Bassée and directly east of Ypres the Kaiser's armies still cling to any portion of the high ground occupied by them at the beginning of the year. They have lost strongholds, they have lost valuable observation posts, and in losing these they have, in addition, lost more than 50,000 prisoners and nearly 300 guns to the British, while in the whole war they have taken less than 35,000 British prisoners and 96 guns. Here is a measure of present conditions between the two great rivals in the West.

V. ENGLAND'S PRESENT EFFORT

It is perhaps an appropriate time to call attention to the fact that at the present time the main work is being done by the British. In the Marne operation and in all the first campaign of the war the British share was small, useful as it was, and magnificent as was the British stand at Ypres. A year later the new British army just coming on was still incapable of a mighty effort and the French, first in the offensive in Champagne and then in the desperate defensive at Verdun, were compelled to carry on, only in part aided by the British.

At the Somme the proportions began to change, but even at the Somme it was the French that made the first considerable gain, and all through this battle the French part was material while the defense of Verdun had still to be maintained. But with the Battle of Arras in April of this year, the British practically took over the main task of the western offensive. The British task was materially increased when the French attack at the Aisne failed to make decisive progress and incurred enormous casualties.

To-day the British are doing the main job on the West. It is no reproach upon the French that this is so, as the French have certainly done their share and more than their share. Yet it is only just to the British to recognize that they are making the big sacrifice now after delays that were long, but were inevitable, given British unpreparedness, and are becoming more comprehensible to the American people now that we are struggling with the problem that confronted Britain three years ago. The British have arrived and it is the British armies that are delivering the heavy blows.

The measure of the British effort is not the respective fronts held by British and French armies, but the amount of action on the two fronts. Already we have seen this year three considerable British attacks—the Arras battle, which was the most successful in size and ground gained of any western attack, one of the most successful in artillery captured in the history of the war, the retaking of the Messines Ridge, and now the new offensive in the Ypres sector. With these three, one should perhaps class the Hill 70 exploit of the Canadians, which was brilliant and of permanent value.

If anyone ever doubted that the British would arrive, these doubts have been answered. Britain is now paying the price that France paid over two bloody years. Her artillery has seized and maintained the mastery over the German. Slowly, steadily, surely the British are breaking down the material and the moral resources of Germany. Because the Russians collapsed the chance of a decision this year has been banished, but the British strategy is that of Grant, is that of wearing down, and there are unmistakable signs that the Germans are beginning to weaken, although their resistance must still command admiration.

The new British campaign seems certain to be one of the great campaigns of the war. It already shows greater power than that at

the Somme and it is not marred by the early blunders of that former battle. The Somme "show," as the British call it, was the training school of the new British army. It was expensive, it was bloody, it was protracted, but the results were visible at the end; they were discoverable in the Beaumont Hamel victory last autumn and in the Arras offensive this year. To-day the British army is unmistakably the finest army in the world. All the other nations suffer from the loss of the younger and physically fitter men. The British have still a considerable share of their youth left and the flower of the manhood of Great Britain and the Colonies is now suffering and achieving as did the flower of the French at the Marne and at Verdun.

To-day the British have taken over the main task from the French; they have also had to assume much of the Russian work. They justly expect a measure of relief next year, when American troops are available in considerable numbers for the final campaign. Then France, too, will be able to spend reserves; a new class will have come on the field. But until America arrives the British task will be of great importance to the Allied cause. Meantime the character of this task is not to be mistaken. The British are not seeking this year the decision which Russian failure has postponed. They are simply striving to continue the pressure and the pounding, to permit no moment of relaxation and recuperation to the Germans until Russia recovers, which is a hope, and until America arrives, which is a reasonable expectation.

VI. THE PAPAL OVERTURE

Stripped of all else the Papal peace proposal made late in August amounts to the suggestion that the world return to the situation of 1914, with the additional suggestion that the questions of Poland, Alsace-Lorraine and of Italia Irredenta be settled by some peaceful method. Belgium is to be evacuated, but not indemnified; the same with Northern France, and a similar course toward Serbia and Rumania is implied rather than specified.

So far as one may judge, the Pope's proposal is doomed to failure unless it be fortified by some new German and Austrian proposal with little delay. By all the Allied nations it was received politely but coldly, by all it was felt that the Holy Father, how-

ever beyond suspicion his motives and how-ever sincere his desire to restore peace and end the world agony, had uttered a document which, since it did not provide for the indemnification of Belgium, was unacceptable.

The additional suggestions of disarmament and arbitration were regarded as Utopian hopes, while the nation which had declined arbitration and invaded Belgium in defiance of international law and pledged faith could not be trusted as a member of a council of nations.

To the world the Pope's suggestions seemed, not through design but in point of fact, advantageous to the Germans and the Austrians and far short of the proposals that must become the base of any successful offer of mediation.

It was felt that Belgium could not be left in ruins, after a German invasion, without establishing in the world the fact that a small nation which defended its liberty against aggression would be ruined without hope of redress. To permit this would be to make inevitable a Belgian surrender, if Germany sought Paris again by the Belgian road. Nor was there any conception of how it would be possible to dispose of the questions of Poland, Alsace-Lorraine, or Italia Irredenta by any peaceful negotiation with a Germany many of whose public men and a number of whose influential and inspired newspapers still proclaimed a policy of annexation in Belgium, Poland, and the Near East.

That Vienna, through its close sympathy with the Vatican, had played an influential rôle in the procedure and that Erzberger and the German Catholics were also parties to the proposal in some manner, were conclusions drawn in all Allied capitals, where the personal good faith and honest intent of the Pope himself were at the same time equally conceded.

There was a general feeling that the Pope must have had certain intimations from Berlin that his suggestions would not be rejected

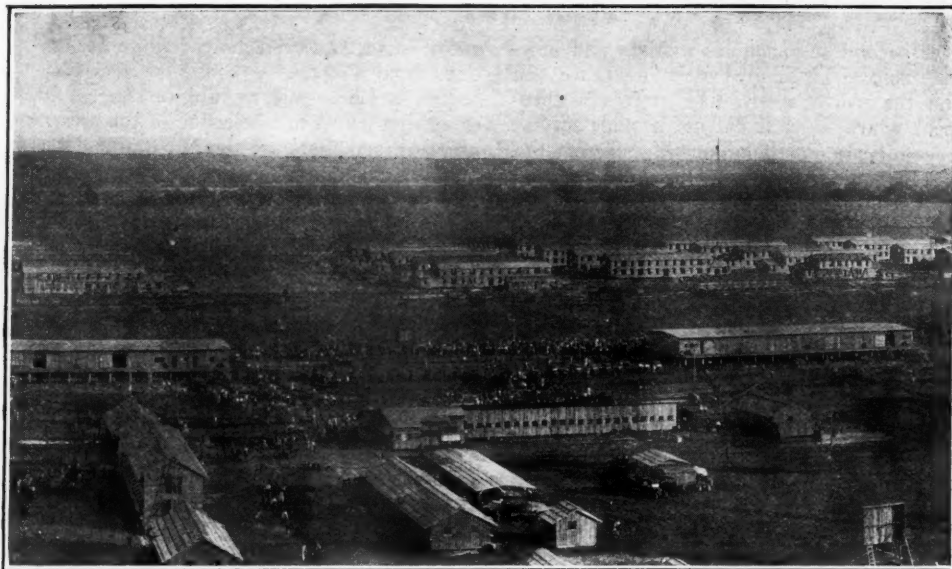
out of hand, and even more definite declarations from Vienna.

Yet, as I have said, writing on August 19, every sign points to a rejection of the present proposal, and there are signs of a new determination on the part of the Allied nations to continue the struggle until a more solid and enduring basis of peace can be found. Actually the proposal carried with it a certain amount of reassurance to the Allied publics, for it was accepted as a new sign of the war weariness in Berlin and Vienna and the new desire for peace on terms far removed from the old suggestion, based upon the war map, made by Bethmann-Hollweg so long ago.

The announcement made by Lloyd George, fortified by the first official statistics, that the submarine war had failed and that the losses were steadily shrinking was accepted as a new evidence of the desperateness of the German situation and as a new explanation of the German readiness to talk peace on the basis of 1914.

So far as one can judge now, it is the settled belief in London, Paris, Rome, and also in Washington that the war will go into 1918, that there will be one more campaign, from April at least until midsummer, and that this campaign will see a decisive victory and the end of the war. This is my own personal view, but I warn my readers to watch the events of the winter months with very great care, for it is beyond doubt that in those months Germany will make the most desperate peace offensive in her history and that every possible effort will be made to prevent the opening of a new campaign which threatens the defeat of the German army and the extinction of tradition of invincibility which is the foundation of militarism in the German Empire. Personally I expect to see far greater concessions offered by Germany before next spring, but not concessions which will include all of Alsace-Lorraine or give Italy Trieste as well as the Trentino.





A PART OF CAMP FUNSTON, THE GREAT NATIONAL ARMY CANTONMENT
(Troops from Kansas, Missouri, and Colorado will be trained here. The two-story buildings appearing

THE NATIONAL ARMY CANTONMENTS

SIXTEEN brand-new American cities—each a little larger than Oshkosh, a little smaller than Kalamazoo—that is what the system of cantonments for the National Army really means. Three months ago the sites of all sixteen were farm and wood lands, rolling prairie, “oak openings,” pine barrens, or desert, in no sense urban. September will see the completion of some and October of the others. The mere statement of this fact involves so many distinct and stupendous elements that the mind fails to grasp its import. It is like talking in billions—a habit they have contracted at Washington of late.

In the first place, these sixteen cantonments are to house a soldier population of about 650,000 at a time. Suppose the Government at Washington, instead of building these camps, had decided to occupy existing cities in the different sections of the country and had ordered the residents to move out

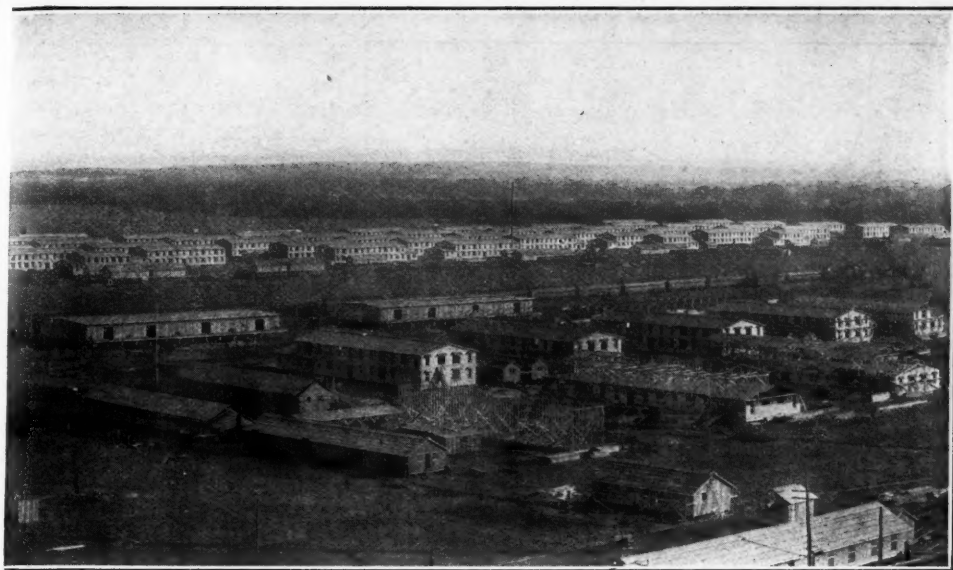
and make room for the soldiers. If the question of population only were considered, what cities would be likely to be converted in this summary fashion into barracks?

In the East, the order might apply to manufacturing towns like Taunton, Mass.; Woonsocket, R. I.; Meriden, Ct.; Elmira, N. Y.; New Brunswick, N. J.; and Easton, Pa. That is to say, each of these places has about the same number of people (roughly, 40,000) that the Government proposes to accommodate in one of its cantonments.

To make up a full complement, providing for the soldiers of the entire National Army, it would be necessary to go on to the Middle West and commandeer not only Kalamazoo and Oshkosh, already mentioned, but other thriving towns, like Quincy, Ill., and Cedar Rapids, Ia. Then the Quartermaster General might take a jump to the Pacific coast and there he would find the bustling



© Harris & Ewing
COL. I. W. LITTELL, U. S. A.,
IN CHARGE OF CANTONMENT CONSTRUCTION



AT FORT RILEY, KANSAS, UNDER THE COMMAND OF GENERAL WOOD
in the picture are infantry barracks; the long, low buildings in the center are quartermaster's storehouses)

city of Everett, Wash., fitted to house another division of troops.

In the South such communities as Lexington, Ky.; Portsmouth, Va.; Wilmington, N. C.; Columbia, S. C., (where Camp Jackson is actually located) and Montgomery, Ala., would be subject to seizure, and it would take all the cities we have named to furnish accommodations equal in extent to those offered by the sixteen cantonments that Uncle Sam's Quartermaster has just been creating, literally from the ground up.

Common English superlatives fail miserably in the attempt to express the real bigness of the task that confronted the Quartermaster's Department three months ago. It was a job that might well have taxed the resourcefulness of any government. That it has been so nearly completed within this brief period, as the photographs testify, is another tribute to the energy and constructive genius of the people that built the Panama Canal.

Every State in the Union is interested in the cantonments; but only one cantonment has been built for every three States. Moreover, it was not practicable to make an equal geographical distribution. More cantonments have been allotted to one section than to others, as is shown on the map on the next page. For various reasons, chiefly climatic, the South offered many desirable locations. Training in these camps will go on all the year around and there is no more

equable winter temperature than that of our Southern highlands.

All the obvious sanitary requirements—elevation and drainage, water supply, dryness of the air—have been taken into account in the selection of camp-sites and in addition, of course, the relative accessibility and connection with railroad trunk lines. This latter factor has to be considered with reference to the territory from which the troops occupying a given cantonment are to be drawn. Camp Devens, at Ayer, Mass., where the New England contingent of the



ONE OF THE COMPANY BARRACKS BUILDINGS IN COURSE OF CONSTRUCTION AT CAMP GRANT, ROCKFORD, ILL.

(This is one of the standard infantry barracks buildings, with sleeping quarters on the second floor and mess-hall, kitchen, lavatories, and shower-baths on the ground floor)



UNLOADING LUMBER AT CAMP DIX, WRIGHTSTOWN, N. J.

(The prompt delivery of southern pine lumber at the various cantonments during July and August proved to be one of the chief factors in the problem of "speeding up" construction)

National Army will be assembled, is reached by six lines of railroad from New England coast points. On the other hand, Camp Upton on Long Island, which might be regarded as isolated from main routes of travel, serves its purpose admirably since its population will be made up wholly of soldiers from the New York metropolitan district, fifty miles away.

The most northerly of the cantonments, as

it is also the most westerly, is Camp Lewis, at American Lake, Washington State; the most southerly is Camp Travis at Fort Sam Houston, Texas. The Middle West has Camp Sherman, at Chillicothe, O.; Camp Grant, at Rockford, Ill.; Camp Custer, at Battle Creek, Mich.; Camp Dodge, at Des Moines, Ia.; and Camp Funston, at Fort Riley, Kan., where General Wood will direct the training of a division made up of men from Kansas, Missouri, and Colorado.

The three Eastern cantonments are Camp Devens at Ayer, Mass.; Camp Upton, at Yaphank, L. I., and Camp Dix, at Wrightstown, N. J.

The South will have, in relation to density of population, a larger number of cantonments than any other section. These will be: Camp Meade (Annapolis Junction, Md.); Camp Taylor (Louisville, Ky.); Camp Lee (Petersburg, Va.); Camp Jackson (Columbus, S. C.); Camp Gordon (Atlanta, Ga.); Camp Pike (Little Rock, Ark.); Camp Travis (Fort Sam Houston, Tex.).

The speed with which these sites have



MAP SHOWING THE PRESENT DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL ARMY CANTONMENTS

(The Government has announced that in addition to these sixteen cantonments the National Army will eventually occupy the sixteen National Guard encampments located chiefly in the Southern States)



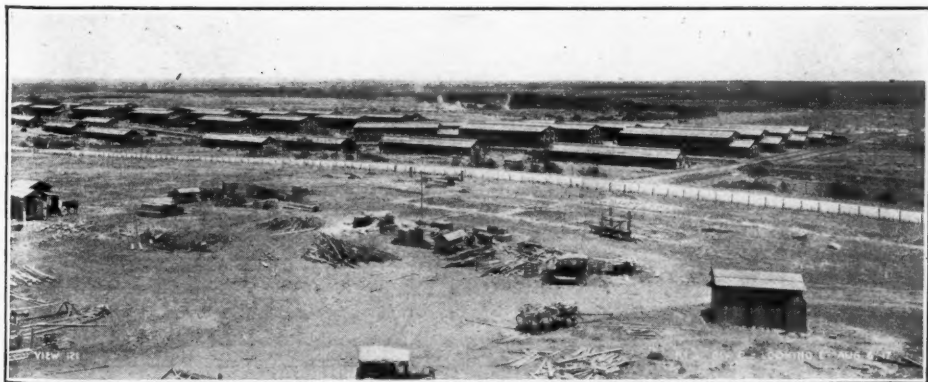
THE SITE OF CAMP TRAVIS AT FORT SAM HOUSTON NEAR SAN ANTONIO, TEX., ON JULY 11, 1917

(The view at the bottom of this page shows the same ground covered with barracks buildings as it appeared on August 6)

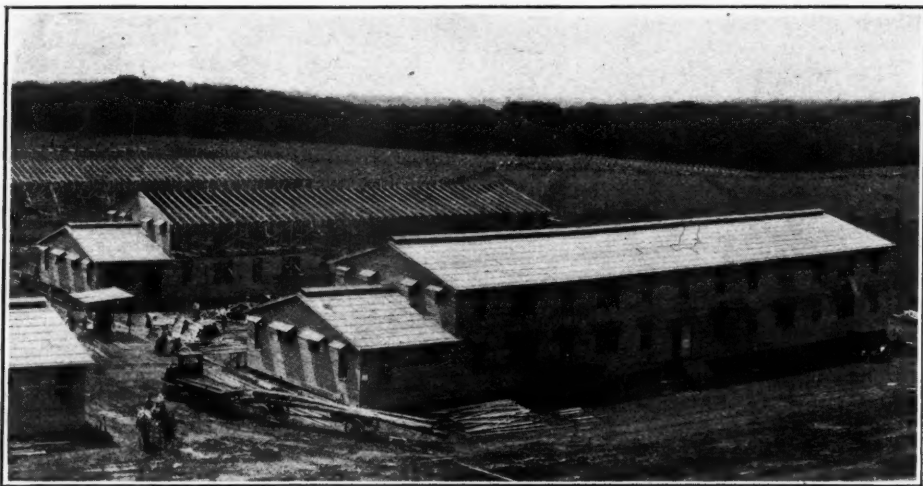
been cleared, roads built (in many instances miles of railroad spur within a few weeks, even through difficult country), water and sewage mains laid, and buildings of every kind erected is truly amazing. It is such a ninety-days' record of construction as was probably never equaled before in the world's history; but the camera's evidence, as presented on this and the accompanying pages, is far more telling than any text description could possibly be. Take, for example, the views of a single section of Camp Travis, at Fort Sam Houston, Tex.—one showing the site on July 11 and the other its appearance twenty-two working days later. One would not have believed that so much could be done in three weeks' time, even with an unlimited labor supply; but while this work was in progress other sections were going up and road-building and trenching for sewers and water-mains for the entire camp were being rushed. The

same story was repeated, with variations, at each of the sixteen cantonment sites. At some of the locations there was much more preliminary site-clearing required than at others. Oddly enough, the "wildest" site of them all was near the Long Island village designed by the uncouth name of Yaphank, almost within the New York City suburban district. Here a forest had to be cut away and the roots blasted out of the earth before the real work of camp-building could begin.

A serious drawback in this labor at Yaphank was occasioned by the swarms of mosquitoes that infested the region. Even the non-infectious species can cause great annoyance and actual delay in construction operations. With a view to safeguarding the camps from malaria, the American Red Cross has already appropriated \$10,000 to be expended in the vicinity of the cantonment at Columbia, S. C. (Camp Jackson). The



ACRES OF BUILDINGS ERECTED AT CAMP TRAVIS, TEX., IN THREE WEEKS' TIME—SEE PHOTOGRAPH AT TOP OF THIS PAGE



INFANTRY BARRACKS AT CAMP DIX, WRIGHTSTOWN, N. J.

Red Cross representatives are coöperating in this work with the South Carolina Board of Health and with the Public Health Service and it is understood that similar measures will be taken to the other cantonments throughout the country.

The plan is to create around each cantonment a one-mile zone entirely freed from the malaria mosquito—the *anopheles*. It is this variety that effectually thwarted the efforts of the French engineers in their attempt to build the Panama Canal, and it will be remembered that the zeal and intelligence of American medical officers in later years made it possible for the canal to be built under American auspices because they practically exterminated the malaria-carrying mosquito in the Canal Zone. General Gorgas, to

whom is due the success of our operations at Panama, and who is now at the head of the army medical service, does not propose to have American soldiers in their own home camps exposed to a poisonous form of infection from which the laborers on the great canal were liberated a decade ago.

The construction companies are building these camps for the Government on the percentage, or "cost plus," basis, receiving an average fee (including overhead charges and profit) of 7 per cent. on the cost of the work. On some accounts competitive bidding on the contracts might have been highly desirable, but the rigid time requirement left the Government no option. The drawings and specifications could not be finished in time to ask for competitive bids. Many would

Fred T. Lay & Co., Inc.
Constructors.U. S. A. CANTONMENT
August 8, 1917

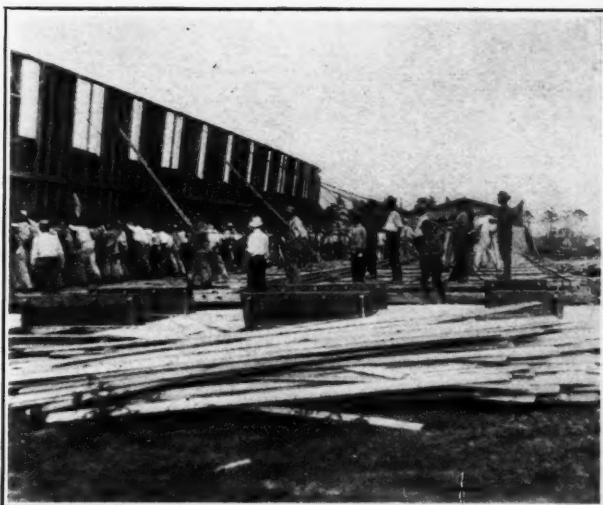
CAMP DEVENS, THE GREAT NA-

(This will be the most populous of all the cantonments. Provision has been made for 49,000 soldiers and officers, 1600 buildings in all, and will have twenty-five miles of sewer, thirteen miles of water main, and

have liked to see labor drafted for this construction work just as soldiers are drafted under the conscription law, but here again there was no time to devise and put in execution a policy of that kind on so extensive a scale. As it seemed to the representatives of the Government, the only way to get the work done within a reasonable time was to secure the services of the big contracting engineers who had the organizations requisite for carrying through undertakings approaching this in size.

Terms were made with these men and they proceeded to mobilize an army of 100,000 workers. The liberal wages they have paid may have seriously disturbed the labor market in some States, at least temporarily, but such maladjustments will have to be endured as among the fortunes of war. Meanwhile, even with the high wage scale there has been a marked scarcity of labor at some of the cantonments. Late in August, when Petersburg, Va., reported 11,000 men at work on Camp Lee, Annapolis Junction, Md., 150 miles away, had 4,500 and greatly needed more for the completion of Camp Meade.

Many stories are told of record exploits in various departments of camp construction. At Camp Travis (Fort Sam Houston, Tex.)

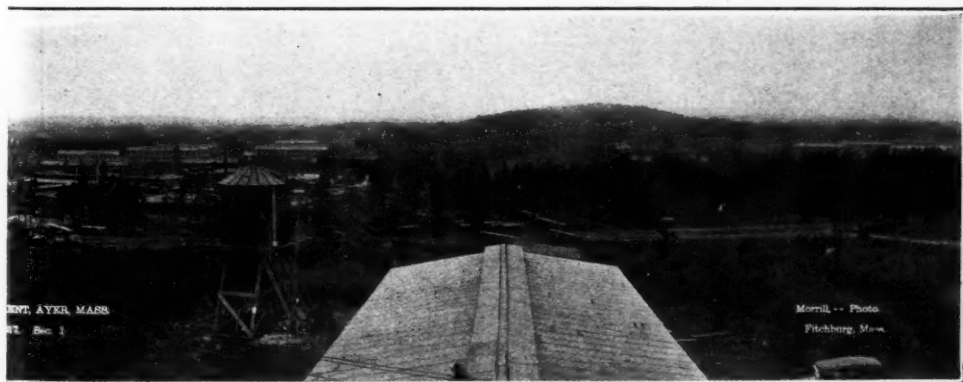


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"RAISING" A BUILDING AT CAMP UPTON, YAPHANK, L. I., WHERE NEW YORK CITY'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE DRAFT ARMY WILL BE HOUSED
(Fifteen minutes was the time allowed for getting up the frame)

and also at Camp Taylor (Louisville) a standard barracks building (43x140 feet, two stories high) was put up in one hour and a half. From Fort Taylor comes the report of a still more picturesque feat—nothing less than the erection on a certain day of a barracks building from lumber which on the same day of the preceding week had been standing in the form of living pine trees in a Mississippi forest!

This achievement required the coöperation of loggers, millers, railroads and builders. During the month of July 12,000 carloads of lumber were delivered to cantonments. The daily consumption at Camp Taylor



NATIONAL ARMY CITY AT AYER, MASS.

All of New England and a portion of New York State will be represented in the cantonment, which will comprise twenty miles of finished highway. Camp Devens will have electric lights and all other municipal conveniences)

Sept.—4



LAYING PIPE LINE AT CAMP CUSTER, BATTLE CREEK, MICH.

(The cantonment reservation at Battle Creek is one of the largest of the sixteen. It comprises 7000 acres. Michigan and Wisconsin soldiers will be trained here)

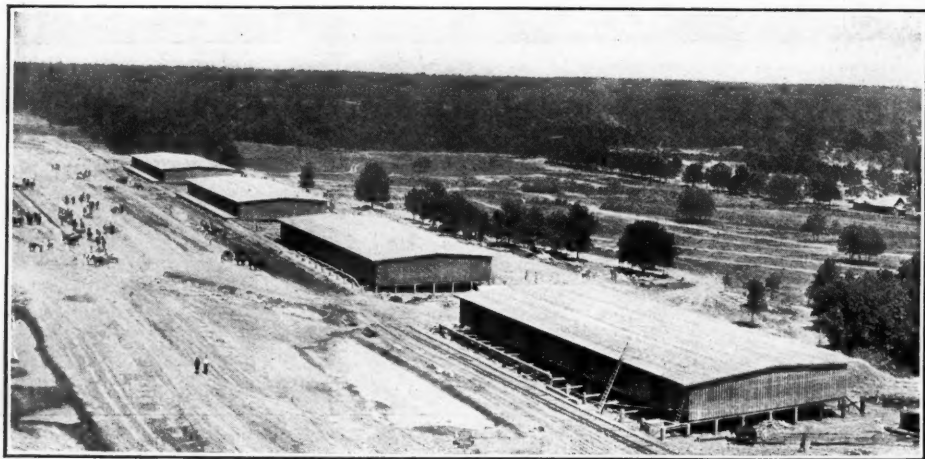
alone was from fifty to seventy-five carloads. The delivery of this immense quantity of pine lumber in record time was accomplished through the efforts of the Southern Pine Emergency Bureau, an organization with headquarters at New Orleans. The great lumber interests of the Northwest have also contributed.

To realize that so vast an enterprise has been put through in this brisk, American way, is gratifying indeed; but the real question is, What does it all mean to the 600,000 American homes that will be represented by the dwellers in these cantonments? How

will the youth from forty-eight States and the District of Columbia, who will make up our new National Army, be cared for while they are training for service in Europe? It has been asserted, with some show of plausibility, that the conscript soldier from the average community, urban or rural, will have a better environment in camp, from the standpoint of sanitation, than he ever had at home. At any rate, when we compare the sewer and water-supply systems of Camp Lee or Camp Devens with those of the average happy-go-lucky small town, north or south, the advantage is all with the camps. Well-ventilated, commodious living quarters,

heated in cold weather and screened in summer against insects; healthful, invigorating air, and abundance of space and facilities for outdoor sports, make these cantonments more attractive to the ordinary red-blooded citizen than any "health resort" of the conventional type. A glance at the photographs of some of these sites will make one think at once of its vacation possibilities.

The size of the cantonment reservations varies from 3000 to 7000 acres. The general plan is a huge circle, ellipse, or horseshoe, with the barracks on the outer rim, the officers' quarters and administration build-



THE QUARTERMASTER'S STOREHOUSES AT CAMP PIKE, LITTLE ROCK, ARK.



VIEW ON AUGUST 10 OF A PART OF CAMP PIKE, FIVE MILES NORTH OF LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
(The railroad line shown in the picture was built for four miles through difficult country in three weeks. Camp Pike is equipped with a 1200-bed base hospital)

ings within, and the unoccupied area reserved for a drill field. The structures which figure chiefly in the photographs are the standard company barracks for infantry-buildings two stories high, 43 by 140 feet on the ground plan, framed in wood, sheathed with matched siding, and covered with prepared roofing.

The company barracks afford individual cots or bunks (on the second floor) for 200 men. On the ground floor are mess-rooms, kitchen, lavatories, and shower-baths. The officers' quarters are in smaller, one-story buildings. The hospital equipment is extensive. At Camp Lee the hospital unit consists of forty buildings with 1,600 beds. The rule is to provide from 1,000 to 1,500 hospital beds for each camp.

The boys gathered at Camp Lee, within gunshot of the Army of the Potomac's old camp ground in Civil War days, will enjoy a degree of comfort never dreamed of by the men who fought under McClellan and Grant.

Providing generously for the physical well-being of his boys in khaki, Uncle Sam does not stop there. He throws open in all the camps wholesome recreations for the soldier's play-hour, baseball, tennis, and water sports; at the same time he does all that any government can do to protect the army community from the inroads of vice. In a number of cantonments the Y. M. C. A. will have as many as seven buildings, offering amusement and instruction and giving

facilities for study and writing. The Knights of Columbus will also have buildings on the camp reservations and the American Library Association is preparing to install suitable libraries and give the services of trained librarians. Lecture and study courses will be arranged to meet the wants of young men who may have been taken from their studies to be made into soldiers. Altogether, the soldier's mental and moral betterment will



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RAPID DITCHING AT CAMP GRANT



CAMP TAYLOR, NEAR LOUISVILLE, KY., NOW PRACTICALLY READY TO WELCOME (Camp Taylor is built on rolling ground, some of the barracks buildings being placed on moderately steep slopes. 11,000 horses will be stabled, is located at one end of the camp, with due regard to the

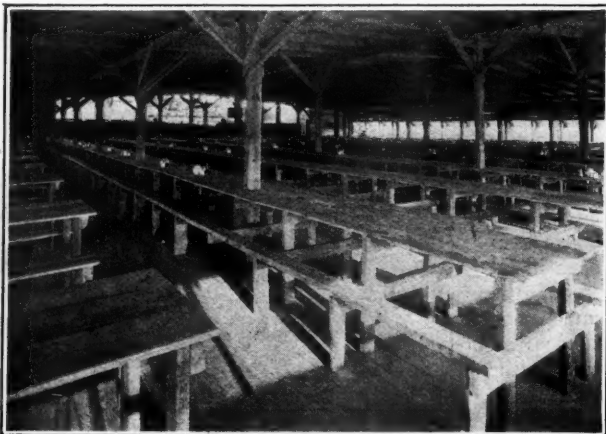
be more effectively and systematically promoted than has ever before been possible in the massing of so great an army.

Early last month it was announced at Washington that in preparing for the second draft of 500,000 men for the National Army the War Department would spend another \$100,000,000 on construction of wooden cantonments at the sites of the National Guard encampments, now largely under canvas. One of these encampments is at Linda Vista, near San Diego, Calif.; three are in Texas—at Fort Worth, Waco, and Houston; one is at Deming, N. M., one at Fort Sill, Okla., and the remaining ten are distributed through the South—the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. There will then be thirty-two National Army cantonments, all prepared to receive troops simultaneously. More than a million men can



Photograph by Harlan P. Kelsey

CAMP TAYLOR—DESTROYING OLD BUILDINGS AND INCIDENTALLY BILLBOARDS



PART OF THE CAFETERIA AT CAMP DIX, WRIGHTSTOWN, N. J., DESIGNED TO ACCOMMODATE 10,000 MEN

be in training at the same time.

Huge quantities of food will be required to supply the cantonments. An army division of 28,500 officers and men will demand each week, it is estimated, 2800 bushels of Irish potatoes, 600 bushels of onions, and 337,000 pounds of other green vegetables. The allowance of fresh beef is 100,000 pounds; fresh pork, 50,000; mutton, 50,000, and butter, 15,000. The day's ration of milk will be 1780 gallons. "Professional" cooks will be employed for each company.



41,000 SOLDIERS OF THE DRAFT ARMY FROM KENTUCKY, INDIANA, AND ILLINOIS

The tents shown at the left of the picture are occupied by the construction corps. An artillery section, where prevailing winds, so that insects and germs may not be carried over the other sections)

Water for some cantonments, especially those situated near large cities, is obtained from sources already utilized, but where this is not practicable, wells are driven and reservoirs built. Several of the cantonments have abundant supplies of natural spring water. Camp Upton, on Long Island, will get its water from four reservoirs each holding 200,000 gallons of spring water. The system will consist of fifty-five miles of pipe-line and will be equipped with three pumping stations.

Where sewage mains cannot be con-

nected with existing systems, it has sometimes been found necessary to build reduction stations.

The housing of this great army of democracy has distinctively democratic features, as our readers will have noted. The army itself—rank and file not less than command—comes directly from the homes of America to the drill-ground. As we recognize no class distinctions in our normal social life, so the cantonment knows no preferment save what is honorably won in fair competition.

W. B. S.



ONE OF THE ATTRACTIVE Y. M. C. A. BUILDINGS TO BE ERECTED AT THE CANTONMENTS



SKILLFUL ADAPTION OF CONTOUR TO BUILDINGS AT CAMP TAYLOR

THE CHANGES IN RUSSIA

BY STANLEY WASHBURN

Mr. Stanley Washburn, whose work as Russian correspondent for the London "Times" and whose important books on the Russian campaigns have given him deserved fame, was attached by President Wilson to the Root commission to Russia and returned with Mr. Root last month. He was given the commission of a Major in the United States Army, as fixing his status abroad. His judgment upon all matters relating to Russia is based upon very exceptional opportunities and knowledge, inasmuch as he was well acquainted with that country before the war and has been in it most of the time since 1914. This expression for readers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS was prepared last month after the return of the Root commission, and with full knowledge of the Russian military situation and of the course of events in Russia almost to the beginning of September.—THE EDITOR.

IN forming judgments of chaotic situations—whether they be political, military or social—one must avoid too close study of day-by-day details of events and endeavor as far as possible to achieve a perspective which judges the situation from the sum total of the complete knowledge we have of the people involved during all of their history.

This is preëminently true of Russia to-day. Superficial changes and present aspects bear no resemblance to what one might have seen a year ago. The conduct of the army, of the people, and of their institutions has changed, but their characters with all the tremendous virtues of the Slavs is the same as always.

It is absolutely unfair to the Russians to judge them by the unfortunate demoralization which has typified many of their activities since the revolution. We here in America, eagerly looking toward them for coöperation in the conflict to which we are a party, are too apt to over-emphasize their failure to occupy the same dominant part in the military situation which characterized their operations a year ago. Because during the confusion following the revolution they have been unable to carry forward their campaigns without let or hindrance, pessimists have declared that Russia was permanently out of the war, and that we could look to her for nothing further.

What has happened in Russia has been so sudden and so unexpected that the situation which has developed was inevitable.

The wonder is, not that Russia has become confused but that she has remained in the war at all. For centuries there has been a system of government in Russia which has paralyzed individual initiative and kept the mass of the people in ignorance of all the functions of the state.

The peasants were taught to worship two things, the Church and the Emperor. Through the medium of these two institutions (if the throne can be so designated) the people knew Russia, the state. Entirely unexpectedly and without the public mind being in the least prepared, there came in a few days the change in the form of government. The Emperor disappeared, and the church as a political influence evaporated. The state from the point of view of the peasant ceased to have any significance, for the only mediums through which they had seen it for centuries had been eliminated. In a word, the peasant mind of Russia was thrown into solution. It was and has been the work of the group of men composing the Provisional Government to build up a new idea of government, popularize it and force Russia to act through and with it; and all of this had to be done in the face of a great war.

At the front, the army was holding a line about 120 miles long and facing between two and three million enemy troops. At home the new government faced the relics of an organization of administration which was in complete collapse through

incompetence of the old régime. The police and practically all of the officials of the old order fell from office and power with the Emperor. Finances were in an impossible tangle. Railroad efficiency had fallen to a low ebb and the economic situation was acute all over Russia.

This was the situation when the Emperor abdicated and the Committee of the Duma put their hands to the plow. In the first confusion thousands of German spies and agitators slipped across the frontier and, backed with unlimited funds, started a propaganda which in a fortnight had utterly befogged the entire issue of the war in the minds of the great bulk of the Russian people, who like all other nations in Europe were worn and weary from the miseries and sacrifices of the war. German intrigue and unwise orders in the early days of the revolution decreased the morale and discipline of the army. This, then, was the situation when the spring opened.

A MIRACLE THAT RUSSIA DID NOT COLLAPSE!

It seems incredible that any of the Allies could for a moment have imagined that it would be humanly possibly for Russia, in spite of all this chaos, to start a campaign at the front exactly as though nothing had happened in Petrograd and the heart of Russia. There has been a miracle in Russia; and that miracle is that Russia did not utterly collapse and that she did not long ere this throw up her hands and make an independent peace. We in America should not criticize her for failure to do the impossible, but thank God that there is in Russia an elemental common sense and stability of character which has carried her so far through the innumerable crises of the past months without faltering in her loyalty to the cause and to the Allies to whom she is bound.

We in America must realize that Russia has in these past three years called up between twelve and fourteen million men to the colors. Her net losses in effectives through military causes amount to about seven million. Her country has been overrun by the enemy, and more than fifteen million refugees have taken sanctuary within her mighty spaces. Retreats, political spasms and untold suffering have been the order of the day for three years. Russia has seen and felt war at its worst.

And yet to-day in spite of everything she

is still somehow or other holding her army together and fighting in much the same way as she has been fighting since 1914. It is futile to prophesy as to what may happen; but it is fair to seek into the past for precedents and on them base some estimate of the future. Those who have lived with and seen the Russians in these last three years know that the Russian strength has been the Russian character. And this is an asset which does not change with revolutions or in face of disaster. It is more vital to a country than guns, munitions, or 42-centimeter howitzers. Guns wear out and munitions are shot away, but the great enduring element that makes nations and armies is the stamina of the people and the individuals that compose the armies.

In 1915, the Russians, almost without material, always outnumbered at strategic points, and handicapped by an inefficient and often corrupt and treacherous government, fought on for six months and finally, in spite of the lack of everything that an army in the field needs, brought to a final stop the most efficient army that the world has ever seen. The next year the defeated armies of 1915 took the field and under Brussilov began an advance that lasted 70 days and captured half a million prisoners and 500 guns.

RECUPERATIVE POWER

Again and again I have seen the capacity of the Russians to recuperate; and on all of these occasions it has been because of the stamina, the faith and the stubborn character of the Russian people and the Russian troops. This year we have seen them in political confusion. We have seen them attacked in Petrograd with a drive of propaganda in every way as vicious as the German drives at the front. And the effect has been much the same. There have been confusion and retirements and moments of grave peril and so far, in all of these moments Kerensky and the men about him have rallied their forces and somehow or other have weathered the storm.

Already, in my opinion, the strength of the German propaganda is beginning to wane; and already are the people beginning to realize the fallacies of the doctrine of an independent peace which has been preached to them. Little by little it is beginning to dawn on them that though they have won their liberty they must continue fighting if they wish to perpetuate it. Slowly but

surely they are learning that the only hope for their budding democracy is the final and complete destruction of autocracy, and that by the force of arms and on the fields of battle. We in America should view this struggle with sympathy and with patience,

helping where we may both morally and materially, and judging the Russians by their character in history. We should place our faith in their capacity ultimately to see the light and continue in the future as they have in the past.

THE PRESENT STATE OF MEXICO

All thoughtful American readers desire information of a trustworthy kind upon conditions in Mexico. The article that we present herewith was prepared a few days ago, at our urgent request, by a trained observer with the highest qualifications, who has just returned from a long sojourn in that much-disturbed country. We can assure our readers that the statements in this article are disinterested.—THE EDITOR.

THE Mexican problem is not one of reconstruction but of construction. Mr. Carranza is not engaged in restoring beneficent conditions prevailing before the revolution, but is building a new structure of social and economic life. The task is proving very much more difficult and complex than the idealists who first led the revolt against Diaz imagined. They dreamed that latent under the thwarting force of the autocratic government were impulses ready to give economic power and political freedom to those millions of Mexicans, a vital part of Mexico but scarcely partaking of its bounty. But the injection of revolution revealed a virulency beyond expectations; and for five years Mexico has now been chiefly occupied in determining through civil warfare into whose hands the power of reordering its internal life was to be placed. By dint of superior integrity and force General Carranza (he prefers to be called citizen Carranza) has achieved the office of President in a government based on a new constitution and committed to dedicating the resources of Mexico to the benefit of the Mexicans.

The President went into office on May 1. With him were elected a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. This Congress has been in session continuously since April, enacting laws reestablishing civil government and devising means for putting into operation the social-economic program outlined in the new constitution.

The President has not fully organized his new government. In several of the more important departments, sub-secretaries are still in charge. He apparently proposes to proceed with caution in choosing his cabinet. This is necessary, both to obtain loyalty and to seek out men of sufficient capacity. These latter, at least, are not over-numerous among the revolutionary survivors.

The President finds the business of government almost entirely committed to him. The Mexican people, apparently, have concluded that they have done their part in fighting for five years and now propose to commit the work of demonstrating the utility of the revolution to the men or man placed in power in consequence of it. There are no ardent groups of citizens discussing ways and means and proffering suggestions to the Government. Congress debates, but the President—advised frequently by more or less expert commissions—plans and promulgates. The truth is, the Mexicans now realize that they prefer by habit, and perhaps by virtue of inherent qualities, to have the bothersome details of government attended to by others.

Mr. Carranza, it appears, now appreciates this circumstance and is proceeding with his work according to his own views and conceptions of Mexico's needs without much public consultation and very little public discussion. He at all events maintains a practically uninterrupted silence.

ORGANIZED REBELLION SUPPRESSED

The revolutionary or organized internal warfare has spent itself, but there are still guerilla activities and locally powerful bands of bandits. The general complexion of the country is pacific with spots of disorder more or less virulent. The government depends on the loyalty of the generals for the maintenance of order where the population is not too surfeited with fighting to be incited, and to suppress active disorder. The loyalty of a general has a sensitive and elusive property which causes constant anxiety to the civil authorities. The power and obvious status of a general give him a wider authority than his military command implies. Having suppressed organized opposition to his authority by rebels, Mr. Carranza is now largely concerned in preventing surreptitious or avowed hostility among his military chieftains. Up to date, he has succeeded remarkably in controlling them, and the most reliable observers now feel that he will ultimately succeed entirely in making the military wholly amenable to law and order.

Courts are being reestablished under the new constitution, and the civil processes, at least as impartial and trustworthy as before the revolution, are resuming their function in the life of the nation. But the business of the courts is severely limited by the restriction of commercial business and the continuance of the moratorium on debts. Moreover, special decrees superseding law or anticipating new statutory enactments, issued by Mr. Carranza as "First Chief," are still in force in numerous particulars.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

Business is slowly emerging from complete demoralization. Banking has practically collapsed for a variety of causes, due in part to mismanagement before the revolution, and in larger part, perhaps, to ruthless treatment by the Government, beginning in the brief rule of Huerta. Plans are on foot for the reconstruction of a banking system to be controlled by the Government. Railways are operating over practically all the country, but by no means satisfactorily. Shortage of cars and motive power and stretches of dangerous territory make operation hazardous and irregular. But almost regular train service now operates from Laredo, Texas, to Mexico City and has continued for some months with only rare mishaps.

Mines are resuming as rapidly as circum-

stances permit and have probably reached about 35 per cent. normal operation. The oil business is active but under embarrassment, of one kind or another, almost continuously. But the condition of the oil business, apart from the fear of Government assumption of control, is steadily improving.

Commercial business is greatly handicapped by the lack of a credit system and the restricted currency, only gold and silver and fractional coins being in circulation, in an amount about one-half the pre-revolutionary total. Manufacturing is never important in Mexico, and such as exists is gradually resuming. All business in Mexico, however, is handicapped, not only by reason of internal difficulties, but because it is almost entirely a matter of foreign enterprise. Many foreigners left the country during the troubled period, and the Great War has prevented their return or discouraged the coming of others to take their places.

The Mexican is not in business to any appreciable extent. He has neither capital nor the necessary zest for it. The revolutionists are discovering that business activity is not merely a matter of opportunity but of a complex of habits and desires which the Mexican's background and composition do not prompt. The anti-foreigner policy of the new constitution will unquestionably yield to the necessity of inviting foreign co-operation in the industrial and commercial upbuilding of the country.

But it is not likely that the country will be delivered over to foreign capital again as it was, for all practical purposes, in the latter years of the Diaz rule. Mexican business has been chastened by the revolution not only in Mexico but in business policy in the lands of its origin. There is apparent a disposition to recognize the right of the Mexican to participate, if he can or will, in the enterprises that develop his country and the propriety of the Government's obtaining some immediate benefit in the form of taxes from business success. Undoubtedly Mexico needs foreign business enterprise. But successful foreign enterprise in Mexico need hardly look forward to generous profits and a special Mexican halo in addition.

AGRARIAN PROBLEMS

Agriculture is so much in the hands of large estate holders frightened out of the country by the revolution that it has not had a fair chance since the country quieted

down. Too many *hacendados*, as the great farmers are called, are still in exile or living obscurely in the large cities. But wherever there are oxen left and there is reasonable assurance of safety the peons are back in the fields.

The Government is returning many confiscated estates, and as yet no policy of land subdivision has been promulgated. There has been a good deal of disillusionment as to the desire or capacity of the peon, Indian that he is, to settle down on his own farm and his own responsibility. Few people now believe that Mexico will become a land of small rural proprietorships within a generation, and not then unless that generation is devoted to intensive education in literacy and so-called civilized habits. And education will not bring this about unless through education the delights and benefits of independence and proprietorship are demonstrated to the sceptical and simple aborigine.

Education has been taken out of the hands of the church, and the government has opened a number of new schools, notably under Alvarado's leadership in Yucatan. But there is, as yet, no fully organized new system of public education. If Mr. Carranza accomplishes anything he will construct a public-school system for Mexico, for his heart is wisely set on that achievement.

ON THE UPGRADE

No observer of months can be completely certain of his conclusions regarding a country as volatile and inexperienced in self-control as is Mexico. But, liable to explosive episodes as Mexico is, it has also a remarkable facility for resuming the appearance and manner of its customary pacific life. This is due to the simple organization, or lack of organization, of the Mexican economy. Thirteen million Indians living with and largely under the guidance of two-million-odd Mexican-Spanish and unmixed foreigners are not greatly disturbed by a period of warfare.

Physically the country is not possessed by the Mexican as we know him, the half-quarter-, or other-part Spanish, part Indian.

Numerically he is not strong enough to control the country by force. But he governs it with the assistance of the Indians, some of whom are valuable factors in every undertaking. The numerous part of the population will not and cannot govern the country. Its ideals are not the ideals of its Europeanized fellow countrymen. Consequently Mexico is not by any means a nation of common purposes or united striving towards a common goal. The peon could live a life of ease and complete contentment without the facilities of civilized life. Unaided he will not achieve civilization.

Perhaps, the task of advancing Mexico to the European level is too severe for the minority who must do the work. It has proved so in the past in respect of commerce and industry. A far-sighted policy would encourage immigration and the further infusion of European ideals and energy into the tranquillity of the peon mind and temperament. But force will not civilize Mexico. It has attempted the task for four hundred years and failed.

America can help enormously by patient coöperation. There is no real basis for the belief that America is generally disliked in Mexico. It has not been well represented, and historically American contact with Mexican affairs has not been promotive of kindly feeling. But wise business policy and a policy of coöperation and understanding in Washington will make America the natural source of Mexican advancement. Already kindly feelings exist because of the patience of President Wilson in dealing with a country thrown into confusion and led into excesses by incessant warfare.

The path ahead of the Mexican Government is neither bright nor smooth. The government has found the path and has set out on its way. That is a considerable achievement. A multitude of obstacles and problems will beset it and are now giving it trouble. Help in meeting and overcoming them, and continued patience and perseverance on the part of all concerned, will bring prosperity and enlightenment to Mexico for which all its travail and chastening must assuredly have been in preparation.



HOOVER AND HIS FOOD ORGANIZATION

BY DONALD WILHELM

WHEN a few more war years have rolled around and historians at last are writing conclusively of these American days, one of them may very likely discern that the intrinsic genius of Herbert Hoover lay preëminently in his power to organize and to realize democracy. In so short a space as that elapsing since that day in April on which he reached New York, returning hastily in response to cablegram call from the President, there are, in fact, for those privileged to see the Food Administrator in perspective, ample indications of just that.

Shortly after that first night in America, when he swung himself into an upper berth en route to Washington "on the midnight" for breakfast with officials of the Department of Agriculture next morning, in the very midst of those first two concentrated but tentative weeks when, at his own expense, he was maintaining a clerical force in a suite of rooms at the New Willard, he paused a little, between engagements, and made for me this striking analysis of the world food situation—and of the functions of the Food Administration Bill that since has at last been passed:

"The grain supply of the world, in normal times, we may imagine as in seven vessels in different parts of the world—one in Berlin, say, and one in Budapest; one in

Rome and one in Liverpool; one in Moscow and in Buenos Ayres and in America. We may think of these vessels as connected, so that when the contents of one is demanded contents from the others flow in. Thus they maintain among themselves a kind of equilibrium."



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MR. HERBERT C. HOOVER
(Chief food administrator for the United States)

"And now—?" I queried, realizing that, most aptly, he was describing the process that was afflicting nearly all war necessities—steel as well as grain, oil, wool, and many more things.

"Now," he said, succinctly, with that powerful compressed restraint of his, "all those vessels are out of it—except America. And the consequence is that if you take anything out of that one vessel you create wild speculation."

He paused just a second. "In other words," he concluded, "the whole control of prices on which we depend in normal times is gone; the machinery for price maintenance and balance is broken; and we require a new balance—a new control

—or consumer or producer will suffer and America and her Allies, too."

Five months later we find Herbert Hoover, with the President and the people squarely behind him, tightening his belt, as it were, and settling his powerful propulsive force to the biggest, most vital war job in the world. The Food Administration bill—"an act to provide further for the national



Photo by Pach Brothers, N. Y.

HARRY A. GARFIELD, PRESIDENT OF WILLIAMS COLLEGE

(Who has been made chairman of the Food Administration's price-fixing board)



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JULIUS BARNES

(One of the country's greatest grain experts, and president of the new fifty million dollar grain corporation formed by the United States Food Administration)

security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel"—now is law. And "moving days" for Hoover are over—"at least," one speculative Washington individual said, "until, if he makes good on this job, he in due time moves into the White House." He has moved from the New Willard to the new building of the Department of the Interior, from the "new Interior" to the ivy-colored, ramified, many-room old brick structure that used to be the Hotel Gordon.

Five months ago, intimates almost dared pity this giant of war stature, so eager was he to get his powerful hands to work. For there is hardly anyone so pitiable as a Washington office holder without any authority. And there was hardly anyone backing Mr. Hoover after his hurried trip to America except the President; he had a herculean task in front of him, no means whatever for the doing of it. He said then, in an interview: "If we are going to take control of the delicate links in the economic chain, we must have the best skill that the country has. The persons most skilled in the handling of those links and their ramifications are those who are engaged in handling them in their every-day life, who have shown, by their success, their superior abilities in the handling of them. . . . But such men cannot be hired at any price by any bureaucracy. We must ask them to volunteer. The country has as much right to ask them as to ask other men

to risk their lives in the trenches. There is no country in which, as a matter of fact, they will respond more gladly, no country in which they can be organized more quickly—almost over night."

No response could possibly be more gratifying than that American business specialists have given Mr. Hoover. "I'm just a mining engineer"—a mining engineer, by the way, with interests and income very considerable—Marc L. Requa, who is in charge of not a few of the commercial relations of the Administration, told me. "I didn't see how I could help much at first except by aiding the Chief to get the men he wanted. He sends a wire something like this, 'On matters of vital interest to the Food Administration will you kindly come to Washington at your earliest convenience.' They come more than gladly. Not one has hesitated, so far as I know. And when the Chief asks them to get to work they go out whistling, almost, and buy civilian khaki and dig in."

"The Government in this emergency," Harry A. Garfield, son of President Garfield, president of Williams College, chairman of the Food Administration's price-fixing board, told me, "is thus equipped with a body of men not anxious to perpetuate a situation—anxious only to assist in solving a great problem and of returning to their usual vocations. Thus is avoided a danger that would otherwise confront the Republic. If the regular machinery of Government and the powers of our regular agents were extended to meet, unaided, the present emergency, contraction after the war would be difficult."

It is not often in the history of the world that one man, free of charge, is permitted to "draft" his choice of the administrative genius of America. The result already is a group of men made up of individuals the Chief knows and has tried plus many more whose special abilities one needs hardly attest at all. The most salient character of this group in civilian khaki, which means Palm Beach cloth, is a tremendous enthusiasm fused with a real pride and a determination to make good—not autocratically but by dint of cooperative effort, for the great part, all along the line.

"Mr. Hoover asked President Wilbur, of Leland Stanford University, to organize volunteers to work on food conservation and elimination of waste," Dr. Garfield explained to me, after he had said that the Food Ad-

ministration is trying to get away from the idea of price fixing; that the arbitrary element generally presupposed is wanting, in fact and in fancy, inasmuch as the law provides "fair and reasonable" methods.

I asked Dr. Wilbur, a tall, spare man, to tell me the function of his tremendous department, in which there are several hundred volunteer co-workers. "Our problem," he said casually, "is to re-arrange the eating habits of one hundred million people in the midst of plenty. . . . In the first place the object is service to the country, in the second place to humanity. The concrete object is to save 150,000,000 bushels of wheat."

I asked lithe John Hallowell, of the firm of Stone & Webster, one-time Harvard football player, recently a champion, in and about



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BEN I. ALLEN

(Private secretary and right-hand man to Mr. Hoover. He was a member of the Belgian Relief Commission since its organization)

operation of the states. These men will constitute Mr. Hoover's connecting link between interstate and intrastate work. Like the women home economics directors in each State from Dr. Wilbur's department, their efforts will be, "up in the field," steadily to carry—to cooperate but not to dictate in the carrying—the Federal program, down through all existing State organizations such as land grant colleges, granges, women's organizations and churches, to the family thresholds. This gigantic effort at decentralization, like that of Dr. Wilbur's, is accompanied, in Washington, by definite and skilled organization working to aid the States in groups and individually.

Decentralization of functions, the disseminating of them among the millions who constitute the land—seems to be the predominating effort of this democratic food administration.

It goes without saying that Mr. Hoover, in the necessity of getting an organization quickly, relies on not a few men who have worked with him before: Edgar Rickard, one

more California mining engineer, for instance, who was secretary of the American Commission for Relief in Belgium; Dr. Vernon L. Kellogg, who was in charge of the Brussels office of the Belgian Relief, who is now ascertaining, through diplomatic channels, what is the latest work of the food controllers in Europe; Dr. Alonzo E. Taylor, who, as a representative of our State Department, studied and learned about food conditions in Germany as no other American has, whose magazine articles constitute the basis for some Government reports, was a professor of medicine in the University



Photo by Harris & Ewing.

VERNON KELLOGG

(Stanford University professor, noted for scientific work, and for two years a director of the Belgian Relief Commission; now one of Mr. Hoover's chief aides)

of Pennsylvania, is now assigned, as a special aid to "the Chief" and a connecting link between the Department of Agriculture and the Food Administration. Captain J. F. Lucey, who did some difficult things in Europe for Belgian Relief, is Mr. Hoover's office manager—the equivalent of a corporation's "assistant to the President."

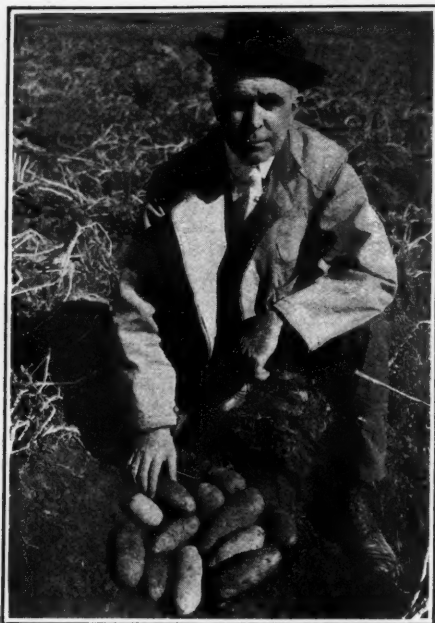
There are many others of similar specialized tasks; indeed in Dr. Wilbur's department



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RAY L. WILBUR

(President of Stanford University, who has been placed in charge of the conservation section of the food administration work)



LOU D. SWEET

(Famous American authority on potato production and a valued member of the new food control organization. See article by him beginning on facing page)

ment alone there are probably two hundred with names that, in many instances, are everywhere known. And all are working to establish the psychology of participation, as it might be called, in every American.

Probably the most distinctive attribute of Mr. Hoover as "food dictator"—as enemy members of Congress called him—is his insistence upon working out problems in co-operation with trades. "We believe," Mr. Requa said, "that each branch of trade should, so far as possible, be self-governing." Thus there results specialists in Mr. Hoover's "cabinet" representing each of the special trades. Obviously there is not room for mention of all these specialists, and probably that mention is not necessary inasmuch as a few names will probably be sufficient to indicate the character of the many.

Lou D. Sweet, to take a random name, is a "potato man"—not only one of the most authoritative ones in the United States, but president of the Potato Association of America also. George M. Rolph is a widely known "sugar man." Julius H. Barnes, of Duluth, was chosen by the grain men of

America as well as by Mr. Hoover and the President. Harold G. Powell is looked upon as a leading authority on perishable products; in fact, he brought about the co-operative marketing of California's citrus fruits. Theodore F. Whitmarsh quit his place as president of the Wholesale Grocers' Association to help Mr. Hoover. Charles H. Bentley has long been president of the California Cannery Association. And there are many more of the same noteworthy kind.

Add to these a railroad man so well known as Edward Chambers, vice-president of the Santa Fé; and a lawyer so well known as Judge Curtis Holbrook Lindley, of San Francisco, leader of the bar on the Pacific Coast, as chief legal adviser, and one may piece out not only the perception that Mr. Hoover has a fondness for Western as well as Eastern men, but that, through the whole of the tremendous organization that he is establishing, planned to accomplish the biggest war job west of the trenches, there is not only enthusiasm for the distribution of powers among millions, and not among few, but a real passion to realize democratic responsibility to the full. The responsibility upon individuals is great; and, as Mr. Requa told me, it rests heavily upon the trades. We may feel assured that if they are not quite as "fair and reasonable" as the Government is, Mr. Hoover and this wholesome group of anti-imperialists who work with him and in his big house in Sixteenth street dine with him, will, with all the lusty vigor of democracy, intimate that coöperation, and often sacrifice, are the order of the day.

All of which brings back clearly what, verbatim, I recorded Mr. Hoover saying emphatically to me five months ago: "A democracy is founded on the free play of individual initiative. That is fundamental to the development of democracy itself. So long as the individual chooses to do what is right for the community he must have freedom of action, otherwise you do not get the intrinsic development of people on which we found our faith. All individuals must help . . . and they will, when the years have passed, have helped to demonstrate that democracy is sufficient of itself, and that the failure of democracy has always been to defend itself."

REDISCOVERING THE POTATO

BY LOU D. SWEET

Mr. Sweet, of Colorado, is the highest authority we have in America upon the production of potatoes. He is a valued member of Mr. Hoover's food-control organization at Washington. It was he who initiated the successful scheme of securing the Federal Reserve Board's approval of stored potatoes as a basis for bank loans, following the analogy of cotton and wheat. He is not merely a man who knows how to grow potatoes, but he is an inspiring apostle of soil improvement and good farming and a leader in agricultural education as well as a practical farmer. Among the remarkable men of affairs assembled at Washington to help the Government win the war for democracy, Mr. Sweet stands with the best.—THE EDITOR.

WE have been raising potatoes in America for several generations, but in the light of what is happening and what will happen before our 1917 war crop of this food has been consumed, I am thoroughly convinced that we are just on the threshold of a thorough understanding of this industry.

From farmer to ultimate consumer the American public is beginning to rediscover the potato.

We have been growing large crops of potatoes—yes, something like 350,000,000 bushels of them annually—and suddenly a war emergency spurred our growers to increasing their acreage to a point where at present there is in sight about 117,000,000 bushels above the average crops for 1911 to 1916.

And this in the face of an average consumption of only 2.6 bushels per capita. Before the war, Germany consumed 9.4 bushels per capita; England, 8.3 bushels; France, 7.7 bushels.

The natural inference here is that, in order to make this war crop a success, the per capita consumption must be raised to take care of the increased per capita production on the farm. For it is a safe guess that the production *per acre* has not increased. Each farmer planted *more acres* to potatoes—that's all.

The problem of increasing consumption is open at both ends and must not be attacked at its middle. While on one hand we must launch a campaign among consumers to educate them in a full appreciation of the value of the potato as a food, at the same time we

must wage just as aggressive a campaign among producers, to the end that they learn to produce potatoes not merely to sell but to eat.

We have not gained a national reputation for high yields of high-quality potatoes. These reputations are for the most part severely localized. Nor, as a whole class of farmers, have we developed great efficiency in handling the crop from field to market.

As a bit of cold fact, the per-acre production of potatoes in America is the lowest in the world. And this is due solely to the fact that we do not sufficiently fortify our soils with the fertility necessary to stand any great increase. Soil fertility and simple mathematics are the answers to increased production.

An acre measures 210 feet square. Potato rows three feet apart are in number seventy to the acre; if the hills are three feet apart, the total number of hills will be 4900. And with our average soil, that's about as heavily as they can be planted.

In Maine, where the growers average something like one ton of artificial fertilizers to the acre, they plant their rows three feet apart, but their hills are set one foot apart. This gives a total of 14,500 hills to the acre. Abroad, where the question of fertility is so carefully considered that potatoes are grown only one year in six on the same land, they plant between 24,000 and 26,000 hills to the acre.

In 1911, Matthew Wallis was knighted by King George V for having raised 119,800 pounds of potatoes to the acre. Astounding?

Well, he put his land into such condition that it could stand 36,000 hills to the acre, that's all.

And that's all there is to our problem of increasing production.

Our emergency crop, then, consists of some 717,000 additional acres planted to the potato. The President's appeal to the farmers for this effort came at a time when labor, seed, and fertilizers were abnormally high in price. The consequence has been that the war crop is from poor seed, poorly nourished after planting.

The immediate problems to be attacked from the farmer's end of the game are two: grading, distribution. By grading I mean the exercise of scrupulous care by the farmer to see that nothing but the very best stock from his fields is sent out to the public.

While the public is being educated to use more potatoes, unless the market offerings are prime, tempting tubers, there is little more than apathy to be looked for in response to this campaign among consumers. At the same time it is all too plain that poor stock coming into the market will upset it and depress prices to a degree ruinous to producers.

Again, rigid grading is absolutely essential if the American farmer is to avail himself of the opportunity offered by the member banks of the Federal Reserve System. Under a recent ruling, potatoes when carefully graded and stored in approved storage houses constitute a staple commodity, warehouse receipts for which will be discountable by member banks for ninety-day periods at a rate not to exceed 6 per cent., including all costs.

It will be ruinous to farmers and a boomerang to the campaign for increased production of foods if prices break below a point where the increased cost of producing this crop will not be taken care of. A case in point:

During the first ten days in August wholesale prices for potatoes on the New York market ranged from \$1.25 to \$2.62 per 100 pounds. Inspectors' reports from points of origin of this stock showed that the lowest level was reached when little or no effort was made to send out a strictly graded product. Just as soon as the growers united for better grading, the prices rose.

In one famous potato section the price this year went to \$2.25 a barrel, because of

the poor quality of the offerings. Strict grading sent the price overnight to \$3.85, with the demand exceeding the supply.

The second problem is that of securing an equitable distribution for the crop. This means that a food crop requiring six weeks to harvest must be handled so as to furnish food for nine months at prices equitable to producer and consumer alike.

As I see it, there is one way, and only one way, to achieve that end. The railroad companies, congested as is their traffic, have given us assurance that unless unforeseen conditions arise, they can move one-third of the crop.

If this one-third is moved to the market and absorbed by dealers and retailers, to be released from their storage as demand requires, then if the growers themselves will store one-third on their farms or in municipal storage, and store the remaining third in approved warehouses under the ruling of the Federal Reserve Board, the whole problem will be a problem no more.

Neither the Food Administration nor any other branch of the Federal Government can work this out singlehanded. The situation is one calling for the closest coöperation of every factor interested in the potato crop, from the farmer himself to the housewife in the city.

And this coöperation has been promised—already is forthcoming. It did not have to be solicited. The farmers, bankers, merchants, shippers, wholesalers, retailers, consumers' organizations, have come of their own free will and at their own expense to Washington, and to Mr. Hoover have said: "Here we are. Whatever you need in this crisis that we can supply, is yours. You can have our time, our energy, our organizations. We're here to put our shoulders to the wheel whenever you give the word."

Such spirit, such red-blooded patriotism can and will not only move a war crop of potatoes, but move mountains. And I look to see it result in the most equitable distribution and disposition of our potato crop that has ever been recorded in the annals of our economic life.

And when this country has come through this ordeal, I look for the breaking of an altogether new day in agriculture and its innumerable ramifications, not only in the case of the potato, but in the case of everything that is grown in the soil.

GOVERNMENTAL PRICE REGULATION

BY EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN

(McVickar Professor of Political Economy, Columbia University)

Professor Seligman's position as an authority upon taxation and public finance has grown steadily through many years. The State of New York has owed much to him for his services on tax commissions, and he has been much consulted by legislative and executive authorities at Washington. His analysis, as given herewith, of the economic principles involved in the policy of price-fixing by the Government in its present emergency projects, is worthy of careful study inasmuch as every sentence has behind it the judgment of a trained expert and a knowledge of past experience both European and American.—THE EDITOR.

THE exigencies of the war have thrust upon the country problems, not only of the most gigantic character, but of the most baffling description. Among them, perhaps none has become more acute than that of price fixing—that is, regulating the prices of all commodities which are deemed essential to the proper prosecution of the war. In essence, however, price fixing is only a part of the much larger problem of production for war purposes. The chief requisite for the successful prosecution of a war is to have a continuous, a rapid and a relatively cheap, or at least no excessively dear, production of the commodities that are needed. There are thus three essential elements in the problem of war supplies: first, they must come forward in abundance; second, they must be produced with the desired rapidity; and third, the charges must not be extortionate. These objects are, or ought to be, secured in last instance by the three methods, respectively, of government management or commandeering, government control of priority, and government regulation of prices.

To many the price-fixing plan seems the obvious and simple solution. The prodigious demands for war supplies, it is said, will lead to an immense rise of prices and if individuals are left free to do as they like, prices will be run up to such an extent as to imperil the very prosecution of the war. If you give people complete freedom of action

they will take such advantage of the consumer—who in this case is the government—as to render conditions unbearable. The clear way out of the difficulty is to fix prices by government fiat.

INTERFERENCE WITH PRODUCTION

When we come to inquire into the problem a little more carefully, however, certain doubts present themselves. By the fixing of prices is generally meant the fixing of maximum prices, that is, the fixing of an upper limit to prices. Yet, as we have seen in the food bill recently enacted, another kind of price fixing often becomes necessary—namely, the fixing of a minimum price. When the food bill states that the price of wheat guaranteed by the government to the farmers for the coming year shall be at least two dollars, the object is, of course, to protect the producer and to induce him to plant more wheat, with a prospect of a reasonable profit. If minimum prices are necessary to the greatest possible production of wheat, it is at least a fair question whether maximum prices in general may not interfere with the greatest possible production of the commodities that are desired. The reason why minimum prices are advocated in the one case and maximum prices in the other certainly deserves a closer analysis.

Even assuming, however, that the logic of a maximum price has been established, the question further arises as to what prospect

of success such a policy would have in practice. A maximum price, if endurable at all, would have to be a fair price, that is, it would have to pay careful attention to actual costs as well as to reasonable profits. To accomplish this satisfactorily is not a simple matter. In the single instance of the railway business, for instance, an Interstate Commerce Commission of seven experts has been wrestling with the problem for years. To do scrupulous justice to all concerned, it would be necessary to have, not a single trade commission, but a separate commission of experts for every particular line of business; and such commissions would have to be in continuous session in order to adjust the scale of maximum prices to the ever-varying conditions of the market—the labor market, the raw-material market, and the demand of the final consumer.

SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES

Another difficulty to which attention has been called by the Trade Commission itself is the fact that the whole scheme would be unworkable unless we had an international agreement in each case with all of our allies. If we were to let the allied countries secure the commodities at the reduced maximum prices and then utilize these materials in working up articles to be sold in competition with our finished products in neutral markets, the consequences to our trade can be easily foreseen.

Again, it may be asked, is there not a much better way of dealing with the problem than by fixing maximum prices? If the object is to secure the greatest possible production for war purposes, why not afford every inducement to fresh enterprise and increased output and why not achieve the desired benefits for the government by regulating results rather than processes? In other words, why not let private individuals charge what they will, and have the Government recoup itself by a very high tax on war profits, leaving to the producer just enough to induce him to multiply his output. If we limit prices so as to yield slight profits, the Government will get so much less in taxes. What it gains in lower prices it loses in smaller tax revenues; and it incurs the further risk of diminishing the incentive to production.

Finally, it may be asked whether the whole policy of price regulation is not entirely opposed to modern ideas. In the middle ages the prices of well-nigh all services and com-

modities were fixed by law and the theory of the fair price—*justum pretium*—was the central topic of discussion by economists and theologians. The modern age of competition did away with the entire medieval machinery, and has retained the price-fixing scheme only in the case of certain definite monopolies like the public-service utilities. In the American Revolution and again in the French Revolution the rapid increase in the prices of the necessities of life led to attempts to reintroduce the medieval regulations. But in almost every case these price regulations only aggravated the evils which they had endeavored to obviate. The producers, who found that they could not get the market prices, stayed away from the market and this made the situation worse than it would otherwise have been. The recent experiences of some of the belligerents with price-regulation of foods otherwise left in private hands has not been essentially different. Does it not follow, then, that the system of price regulation is a mistake?

II

It is obvious that before an answer can be given to this question a more careful analysis must be made. In this analysis there are four considerations to be observed: (1) Is the article an absolute necessity and is it to be used by the people or by the Government? (2) Is the article produced under conditions of competition or of monopoly? (3) Is there a possibility of extending the production? (4) What is the rapidity with which the new output will respond to the increased price? Let us consider each of these points in turn.

NECESSITIES

Most of the medieval prohibitions dealt with articles of prime necessity. In a great war like the present, however, there are some commodities, like coal and wheat, for instance, which are not only a necessary of life to the individual, but also of fundamental importance to the Government. Such commodities should be put in a category by themselves. If it were simply a question of Government needs, and if an adequate production were assured, the Government could attain its ends as well by taxing profits as by limiting prices. Furthermore, if it were only a question of necessities of life to the private consumer, a policy of minimum rather than of maximum price might suffice to bring forth the necessary supplies. Where an ar-

ticle, however, partakes of the double characteristics of something necessary to both the private consumer and the Government, a more vigorous policy may be required.

THE ELEMENT OF MONOPOLY

The second consideration is the existence of competition or of monopoly. The reason why we have minimum prices of wheat is because there is competition among wheat growers. The reason why it may be desirable to set a maximum price on wheat is because the market may be so rigged as to bring about a corner or a state of virtual monopoly. Wherever there is real monopoly there is need of price regulation, whatever may be its difficulties. The question then arises as to whether the immense increase in the war demands as over against the existing and probable stocks of many materials and commodities does not constitute what might be called a quasi-monopoly. Even without proof of concerted action on the part of producers or dealers, does not the very nature of the present situation engender conditions which are analogous to monopoly and thus justify interference by the Government in order to prevent extortionate prices to the community at large. For, although the Government can, by very high taxes, make good the loss due to excessive prices, the individual consumer who purchases the commodities at the same prices has no such redress. His only chance is to secure from wages or salaries or profits an augmented income which will enable him to pay these high prices.

INCREASED OUTPUT

As to whether this quasi-monopoly exists, however, depends mainly on the third consideration, namely, the possibility of extending production. Is there an available new source of supply, and are there enough independent producers who will be lured into the business by the rise of price. Here again it is important to make distinctions. In England, for instance, where the coal fields are definitely known, there is comparatively little chance for new supplies of coal except at greatly increased cost. In this country this is perhaps not quite so true of coal as it is of copper or of petroleum. The mere increase in the price of petroleum will not lead to a corresponding increase in the output; and even in copper the number of additional low-grade mines is not unlimited. In most manufactures, however, every in-

crease of price means the bringing in of a new and lower-grade marginal producer, and under conditions of reasonable freedom augmented output will follow higher prices. In a great many commodities, therefore, increase of price will be the best guarantee of the enhanced production which is so sorely needed in war times and which of itself will tend to eliminate the quasi-monopoly features of the situation. It is only where the entire output of a particular commodity is pooled or subject to a collective or trust agreement that the monopoly feature might reestablish itself.

The fourth consideration is the rapidity with which the new production will respond to the increased price. If the price of cotton or of wheat doubles before the planting it will not take long for the farmer to grow more cotton or wheat. If the machinery required for the production of some manufactured commodity is readily procurable, the capital required for the new business can be easily borrowed. But to double the capacity of an open-hearth furnace may take many months and to build a steel ship will take still longer. Even, therefore, under conditions of competition and of an available new supply of labor and capital, the rapidity with which the production can be augmented is of the utmost consequence in relieving the pressure of high prices.

INEFFICIENT PRODUCTION

Finally, it must be pointed out that in some cases inordinately high prices may bring into existence the inefficient producer who will in reality be retarding rather than aiding production. Thus the Federal Trade Commission in its report of a few weeks ago stated as follows: "The undue price at which coal can be speculatively sold has resulted in the opening up of temporary and inefficient bituminous mines, called in the industry 'snowbirds' or 'wagon mines.' These temporary and uneconomical mines now secure part of the inadequate number of cars allotted by the railroads to the coal industry. They have none of the usual loading facilities, and the cars are often held at such mines days in the process of loading when a properly equipped mine could load them in a few minutes. The operation of such mines curtails production and is an economic waste at this time." While this is, of course, an exceptional situation, the possibility of its existence in other lines of business must be continually borne in mind.

III

The chief inference from the above analysis is the impossibility of framing a general rule applicable to all commodities. It seems reasonable to assert that a careful study would put the chief commodities needed for war purposes in the United States at present into three categories.

COMPLETE CONTROL OF CERTAIN
COMMODITIES

In the first category, of which coal and wheat may be taken as types, neither price regulation nor profits taxation will probably suffice. In Great Britain, as is well known, the government, after the failure of various other experiments, has been compelled to assume complete control of the coal mines. In Germany the government has participated in the coal pool (syndicate) and has directly regulated the conditions of production and sale. In France the government has divided the country into three coal zones and has assumed complete charge of sales. In Russia the government has taken over the coal mines. In Italy the government imports and sells all the coal. Our Trade Commission has recommended that the production and distribution of coal and coke be conducted through a pool in the hands of a Government agency; and the arguments adduced by the Commission seem to be of a compelling nature. In the case of food, several of the belligerents have been driven to resort to governmental purchase and control of the supply. We are likely to be forced to the same expedient.

ARTICLES NEEDED BY BOTH PRIVATE CON-
SUMER AND GOVERNMENT

In the second category of commodities, like copper and petroleum, the arguments in favor of price regulation are much more cogent. These articles are needed by the private consumer as well as by the Government, and the lure of high prices is not necessary to augment production. Nor, on the other hand, is there such assurance of an active competition as to warrant the expectation of prices being kept down to a fair level.

In the great mass of manufactured com-

modities, however, that are needed by Government for war purposes the policy of price-fixing is attended with far greater difficulties and seems on the whole inferior to the policy of extra taxation of war profits. In this category of commodities the chief essential is continuous, rapid, and increasing output. What the Government loses in high prices it will make up in larger taxes. The consumer of the same commodities will indeed suffer from the high prices that he is compelled to pay. But if he uses these articles in further production he will recoup himself in the corresponding prices of his productions. And if he is the final consumer, he will have to seek for some compensation in reduced consumption. What a country needs above all in time of war is increased production and lessened consumption. To the extent that high prices conduce to that result they are not altogether to be deprecated.

PUBLICITY AND ACCOUNT-KEEPING

There is, however, one corollary from the above conclusion. If ordinary business is to be subject to high profits taxation rather than to price regulation the Government must extend to it the same principles of publicity and accountability that it now applies to quasi-public enterprises like railroads and banks. If the chief resource of the Government is to consist in the taxation of profits the utmost care must be taken to see that accounts are accurately kept and profits precisely stated. With this condition observed the community would be able to endure the strain of a long and obstinate war without incurring the many difficulties and hazards which are inevitably bound up with the problem of universal price regulation.

Our conclusion then is: (1) for a few commodities of fundamental importance, like coal, wheat, ships, *etc.*, complete governmental control of the supply; (2) for important raw materials and a few manufactures where rapidly increased output is unlikely, price regulation; (3) for the great mass of commodities where actual combination or monopoly cannot be predicated, extra taxation of war profits in lieu of price regulation.

UNCLE SAM'S WAR REVENUES

BY CHARLES F. SPEARE

EARLY in August Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo descended suddenly on the Finance Committee of the Senate and announced that the costs of the war had risen so rapidly it would be necessary to extend the sums previously estimated for this year. The committee had about completed its draft of a bill that would have provided war revenues of over \$1,665,000,000. It at once set out to supplement this so as to make the amount reach \$2,000,000,000. Actually it has gone a little beyond that figure.

The additional \$330,000,000 required is not of serious consequence in itself, but interesting in its relation to the sum total of all revenue taxes before the war. Very nearly all of the emergency tax will be taken from incomes and from liquor. Thus corporate incomes contribute another \$162,000,000; surtax on individual incomes \$27,500,000, and liquor taxes \$114,000,000. To complete the bill quickly lines of least tax resistance had to be followed.

The Senate bill differs materially from the House bill in principle as well as in the amount it produces. The latter would yield \$1,867,000,000. It relieves the small taxpayer of a few obligations which the Senate bill places on him. On the other hand it would impose some unjust burdens. The greater fairness seems to be found within the recommendations of the Senate. The margin of justice between the two measures has been the subject of debate during the second half of August.

The battleground is the tax on corporation profits. There is no dispute over the fairness of taking from those who make from the war a very liberal slice of what they have made. The attitude of the Senate is summed up in this statement:

In fixing the rates on incomes and excess profits your committee kept constantly in mind the fact that the amount of revenue derived from these sources would depend upon the prosperity and activity of business, and that to impose taxes which would tend to discourage enterprise and dampen these activities would tend to defeat the legislative purpose.

This is the stock argument of the cor-

poration. There is a good deal of truth in it. The strong protest of the House leaders has been that the basis of estimating excess profits is wrong. These are regulated according to the "average net profits of the taxable person or corporation during the three years 1911, 1912, and 1913." This is termed the "pre-war period." The corporation that was prosperous in those years, and many were, would have a high average of profits to compare with when it submitted its schedule for 1917. On the other hand, the concern that had been through a period of lean years and had gained a sudden accession of wealth during the war would have an unfortunate base of comparison.

From the House bill the Senate has stricken the iniquitous retro-active tax. This would have produced \$108,000,000. It would have done many times this damage to business through loss of confidence, and through inability to determine what amounts a manufacturer should set aside as reserve or distribute in dividends or to enlargement of facilities. The Lenroot amendment placing a very high surtax on incomes over \$40,000 was eliminated, though this would have added \$66,000,000 to the tax revenue. In place of this the surtax is enlarged from \$15,000 upwards. The normal tax on incomes has been increased from 2 to 4 per cent. This compares with the original enactment of 1 per cent. Income to individuals up to \$3000, if single, and \$4000 if married, with the new provision of \$200 for each dependent child, is taxed 4 per cent. in excess of these exemption figures. The minimum exemption calls for a 2 per cent. tax for a single individual whose income exceeds \$1000 up to \$3000. Above \$5000 a 1 per cent. surtax applies up to \$7500 and 2 per cent. to \$10,000 and 4 per cent. to \$15,000. From \$15,000 to \$20,000 the surtax is increased from 5 to 6 per cent.; \$20,000 to \$40,000 from 6 to 8 per cent.; \$40,000 to \$60,000 8 to 10 per cent.; \$60,000 to \$80,000 from 11 to 12 per cent.; \$80,000 to \$100,000 from 14 to 16 per cent.; \$100,000 to \$150,000 from 17 to 20 per cent.; \$150,000 to \$200,000 from 20 to 23 per cent.; \$200,000 to \$250,000

from 24 to 26 per cent.; \$250,000 to \$300,000 from 27 to 29 per cent.; \$300,000 to \$500,000 from 30 to 31 per cent., and \$500,000, 33 per cent. This is the maximum tax application on individual incomes proposed in the Senate bill.

It was recognized by the Senate committee that a tax on the gross manufacturing sales of automobiles would greatly disturb the trade for as many as 80 per cent. were making but small profit. So this tax has been passed to the owner of motors. It is 1 per cent. on the listed retail price, or \$5 for a machine costing \$500. The moving-picture show has become a national institution. It possesses many valuable educational features. It is largely patronized by people of small means. So the original tax proposal is dropped. Also that of 5 per cent. on electricity, telephones, and gas. Here are two instances where the Senate has shown more consideration for the small taxpayer or person of moderate income than the House. It states that the last-named tax "would fall with very great severity on people of moderate means as well as on the poorest classes." It was the opinion of the committee that a tax of this sort ought to be avoided "unless a point was reached where it would become necessary to tax everything susceptible to taxation." The munitions tax is dropped. It was the first of the war revenue measures to be enacted. So is the tax on estates and on insurance. Just why the tax on chewing-gum is annulled is not indicated.

Of the whole sum to be raised by taxation as war revenue nearly \$1,500,000,000 is from the corporate and individual concerns, or \$720,000,000, and \$748,000,000 from war profits, and \$270,000,000 from rectified and distilled spirits, from fermented and malt liquors and from wines. In these three groups may be found the source of 85 per cent. of the tax provided. The other large items are taxes from tobacco, from transportation rail, and water, and from oil, taxes on sporting goods, on tickets of admission to amusements, on cosmetics, pills, powders, and syrups, stamp taxes on documents and checks, on messages, and excise taxes on tea, coffee, cocoa, and sugar.

There will be a strong demand that future issues of government bonds be taxed. It is recognized that the already great mass of untaxed wealth in the form of State, municipal and government securities and exempted property imposes an unfair burden

on those subject to taxation on necessities of life and that to let this amount grow, as it will under Government borrowing and loans to Europe, would be an unsafe financial policy. The method of adjusting the tax so as not to reduce the purchasing power of those who contribute most heavily to the loans must be worked out carefully. The experience of England has been that her taxable bonds have been in much greater favor than those giving the exemption privilege but bearing a lower interest rate.

Taxation will not accomplish all that the Government desires. Much more will have to be raised through the issue of bonds. The general opinion is that the ratio ought to be approximately 25 per cent. taxes and 75 per cent. bonds. There is a radical element which subscribes to the doctrine that the division should be 50-50. By September the call for subscription to a second Government loan will have gone forth. This will be for \$3,000,000,000, with the interest rate likely to be maintained at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In some respects it is going to be easier to get support for this loan than for the original one. The farmers will be in a better position to take bonds as their season will be ending and their financial requirements less than in May and June. The country generally appreciates the existence of war where sections had only a remote attachment to it a few months ago, or before troops actually landed in France. The machinery of bond-selling, or loan propaganda, is better controlled and it exerts a greater voltage. A handicap may be the slight discount at which the Liberty Bonds are quoted on the New York market. Those who bought these bonds, however, did not do so with the idea of speculative profit. The response was nearly 100 per cent. patriotism. As bearing on the cost of the war, now nearly \$120,000,000 a day, it is worth repeating that the first \$7,000,000,000 request of the Secretary of the Treasury, which will provide for less than half a year's requirements, equalled the whole cost of the Napoleonic wars. What tends to bring up the daily cost to the United States is the huge advances being made to Great Britain and to those nations which she has been supplying with funds for the past two years. These advances have been \$4,000,000,000. Practically this entire amount will have to be transferred within the next six or eight months to the shoulders of Uncle Sam.

CONGRESS AND THE CONDUCT OF WAR

BY FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG

(Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin)

THE theory of our national military system is that Congress decides when war is to be waged and provides the money and the men, while the President controls the actual use of the armed forces for the purposes in hand.

In practise, there is no such sharp division of functions. The President may independently lead the country into war; his influence may leave Congress little discretion in providing fighting material. Congress, in turn, may put the commander-in-chief under restraint by withholding supplies, by granting supplies conditionally, by dictating a given course of action, by calling for explanations and reports, by ordering investigations, or by setting up special committees of supervision, empowered to inquire, recommend, and warn.

In every important war in which the United States has engaged there has been a pull and haul between Congress and the President as to who shall actually say how the conflict shall be carried on. The war with Germany will prove no exception. Indeed the issue has already been brought to the fore, in the Senate's amendment to the Food bill proposing to create a special joint committee to assume surveillance over war expenditures and otherwise keep watch upon the actions of the Administration. The plan was dropped, but only after the President challenged its sponsors in a letter strongly hinting at a veto of the Food bill itself unless the objectionable feature were removed.

This settled nothing. The amendment was a rider, and the fundamental question of policy involved in it was never clearly before either branch of Congress. But enough was said to indicate that, in one form or another, the proposal may be expected to come up repeatedly, and to yield much discussion, if not important action.

In his communication to Chairman Lever the President referred pointedly to Civil War experiences, declared that the Joint

Committee on the Conduct of the War created in 1861 rendered Lincoln's task "all but impossible," and made it plain that he would view the setting up of any Congressional supervising committee in this war as a public calamity. As a precedent to which appeal has thus already been made, and will continue to be made, the half-forgotten Civil War joint committee acquires a sudden interest.

This committee owed its origin to popular demand for a more vigorous war policy in the autumn of 1861. When the Thirty-seventh Congress met in regular session, December 2, public discontent quickly found expression on the floor of both houses. The disasters of Bull Run and Ball's Bluff were fresh in mind. No counterstroke had been delivered, or even attempted, in the East. The Army of the Potomac, under command of McClellan, had reached a strength of 185,000 men, being by far the largest force that had ever been brought together in the western hemisphere—larger, indeed, than Napoleon at any time led into battle. For five months preparations had been pushed. The army was splendidly drilled and equipped; it greatly outnumbered its opponents; officers and men were anxious for action; weather conditions were perfect. But McClellan was not ready to fight. Indeed, he kept begging for more troops and equipment. Lincoln met his requests at every possible point, while urging that a forward movement be not longer delayed.

In the Senate discussion soon centered on the reverses suffered by the Unionist cause, and Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan, introduced a resolution calling for a committee of three to inquire into the Bull Run and Ball's Bluff disasters. Grimes, of Iowa, proposed a joint committee of three Senators and four Representatives, with more general powers; and the substitute resolution prevailed.

As finally passed by the two houses, the

resolution provided for a joint committee of seven members, charged with inquiring into "the conduct of the present war," and empowered to send for persons and papers and to sit whenever either branch of Congress was in session. The resolution was piloted through the House by Roscoe Conkling, of New York.

At the outset, the committee consisted of Senators Wade, Chandler, and Johnson, and Representatives Julian, Covode, Gooch, and Odell. Wade was made chairman, and he and Chandler—leaders of the Senate radicals—dominated the proceedings. Johnson soon retired to become military governor of Tennessee, and was replaced by Senator Wright.

The committee began work with a vigor which was never relaxed throughout its four years of existence. Its first great task was to inquire into the causes of the ineffectiveness of the Army of the Potomac. The Bull Run and Ball's Bluff defeats were investigated and reported on. But the members conceived their mandate to extend to the operations of war in their broadest phases, and to plans for the future as well as acts of the past. Accordingly, they called McClellan into conference and, to his disgust, plied him with arguments for an immediate advance against the enemy. They made repeated visits to Lincoln and members of the cabinet to urge that McClellan be replaced by a commander who would fight, and were shocked to find that "neither the President nor his advisers seemed to have any definite information respecting the management of the war." They took independent steps to find out how strong the enemy was, how many men could be spared from the Army of the Potomac for service elsewhere, what had been done to strengthen the fortifications about Washington, why McClellan's plan to advance upon Richmond by the roundabout Peninsular route was allowed to prevail over the wiser plan of Lincoln for a direct advance. When at length the Peninsular campaign was started, they scrutinized every step of it, and submitted a lengthy report vigorously assailing McClellan's generalship.

As the war progressed, scarcely an important operation failed to be brought within the committee's range of action. In most instances the investigations were ordered by Congress, but Wade and his colleagues did not hesitate to act on their own initiative. Frémont's campaigns in Missouri, the Hatteras expedition, the Fort Pillow

massacre, the battle of the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*, Burnside's Beaufort exploits, the battle of Petersburg, B. F. Butler's famous raid on Fort Fisher—these are but a few of the subjects on which reports, aggregating eight portly volumes, were brought in. Many of the reports were given wide publicity; some were accompanied with photographs and other illustrative materials.

The objects which the committee itself avowed were (1) to ferret out the mistakes that were made in the conduct of the war, (2) to bring together information which the President and heads of departments were too busy to seek, and (3) to place the results of its investigations at the disposal of Congress and the executive officers, "with such recommendations and suggestions as seemed to be most imperatively demanded." In carrying out these purposes the committee showed untiring energy and exercised high prerogatives. It visited every section of the country in search of evidence; it called generals and statesmen before it, and "questioned them like refractory schoolboys"; it became a stern and jealous censor of army and Government alike; it brought in bills, and influenced the course of legislation; it boldly overrode the judgment of such men as Grant and Meade on military matters, and made and unmade reputations with a free hand.

It goes without saying that the committee lived perpetually in an atmosphere of controversy; and it was itself, as Nicolay and Hay remark, "assailed with furious denunciation and defended with headlong and indiscriminating eulogy." Its decisions were at times hasty. It habitually sought expert opinions, but its judgments were not always in accordance with the weight of testimony. Its inquisitorial methods were often irritating. It was not above prejudice. Julian admits that the majority of its members reached a point where it was impossible for them to do justice to McClellan.

None the less, the committee steadily retained the confidence and support of Congress; and the press and public opinion of the loyal States, with remarkable unanimity, not only recognized its earnestness, patriotism, and honesty, but credited it with large usefulness to the country. From the White House it must have been viewed with less satisfaction. Yet Lincoln saw in it an important organ of public opinion and took no such haughty attitude toward it as did some of his subordinates. Its nagging on the subject of McClellan in 1861-62 was wearisome.

Still, its position was sound, and Lincoln was obliged eventually to accept and act upon the fact.

A close reading of the evidence does not indicate that the committee really hampered the President in the conduct of military operations. On the contrary, it exposed many blunders, gathered much useful information, gave wholesome advice, and served as a useful link between the executive and legislative branches. It is true that in the closing months of the war Lincoln and

it were working at cross purposes. But this was because of a clash between the moderateness of the one and the radicalism of the other on questions relating to reconstruction and the status of the negro. The conflict was really between the President and the radical majority in Congress; and Wade's unfeeling remark, made when the committee first called to pay its respects to President Johnson—"By the gods, there will be no trouble now in running the government"—is not chargeable to the committee as such.

THE COLLEGES IN WAR TIME

THE OUTLOOK FOR AMERICA'S HIGHER INSTITUTIONS THIS AUTUMN

BY LYMAN P. POWELL

Dr. Powell, who is president of Hobart College, New York, has at our request made widespread inquiry regarding the prospects of the colleges and other higher institutions as they are about to enter upon the new academic year. His summarized statements are thoroughly representative of the trend of the best thought in our educational world. After writing this article for the REVIEW last month, Dr. Powell went abroad to make an authoritative study of conditions in the universities and higher institutions of Great Britain, France, and other countries as affected by the terrible emergencies of war. He represents the association of American colleges with the coöperation of the Bureau of Education at Washington.—THE EDITOR.

"PRECARIOUS guessing," President Mezes, of New York's City College, calls any effort to forecast the immediate future of our universities and colleges. Nevertheless, I venture to transmit the impression of a summer's correspondence with a hundred university and college presidents, all of whom seem somewhat anxious, many speculating, and some estimating with meticulous care.

Few seem altogether certain. President Benton makes out a good case for a 90 per cent. attendance at the University of Vermont. Up from the South comes the convincing estimate of Dean Petrie that the Alabama Polytechnic Institute is to fare almost or quite as well. Union College will be content with a two-thirds enrolment, and far out west the University of California reports already a 10 per cent. increase in registration of new students with an accompanying certainty of losing 50 per cent. from the

two upper classes and 20 per cent. from the Sophomores.

Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Cornell, Dartmouth, and their kind early got into the war, and early suffered. Some mourn their dead. None are entirely sure what the future has in store. But—to quote President Luther, of Trinity College, Hartford—they are proud of their anxieties. Harvard may well bear herself with a new dignity since Victor Chapman died carrying oranges to a hurt comrade. Virginia needs no prompting to proclaim that when young McConnell last March flew to his death "he bound about her brow some of his own glory."

President Hadley is not dismayed at the outlook of a two-thirds attendance for Yale. The biggest building operation in Yale's history will go on. Princeton is too keen for patriotic service to lisp at all in numbers. The price due for unusual excellence in military training has already

been paid in part by Cornell, and the *Alumni News* can bear to speak without apology of a possible loss of one thousand paying students. Dartmouth means both to do her full duty in the present and to maintain her organization so steadfastly, no matter what it costs, that no momentum will be lost, however long the war. What matter that incidentally—as President Hopkins writes—there may this year be a shrinkage of 50 per cent. in the size of the three upper classes! President Slocum (Colorado) speaks like a seer for all such patriotic institutions in a stirring letter written to announce that it would be better—as it would—for many colleges to close than that they should not respond to duty's call without question or delay.

On the educational map geographical and sectional boundaries have all disappeared. If some institutions nearer the sailing ports were quicker than some others to let their students go, without loss of academic credit, to the fighting front, none were overlate in starting. Illinois is not afraid of any shock the autumn brings. President Nollen, of Lake Forest, figures on a two-thirds attendance in the Middle West. President Bell, of Drake University, is inclined to drop as low as a one-half registration. President Vincent (until recently of Minnesota) speaks—admittedly at a venture—of Northwestern budgets adjusted to a 70 per cent. enrolment, and in the Southwest, President Wilbur confesses that at Leland Stanford they are in the dark as to the upper classes, but expect at least a 90 per cent. registration in the two lower classes.

Two executives—McCracken, of Lafayette, and Ferry, of Hamilton—seem to have taken some kind of a national reckoning—and their estimate of shrinkage ranges from 20 to 40 per cent., with Dr. McCracken inclined to split the difference. As to professional schools, agreement is general that they will suffer little. What they have to give is in immediate demand and even their apprentices can be sure of almost a living wage. This "card-catalogue war" has put a higher premium on technical training; and the Council of National Defense regards it as a more patriotic duty to register in a technical school than to enlist in army or in navy. No institution of technology is flying any signal of distress—and one in Georgia expects more students than ever. The Drexel Institute at Philadelphia is even developing new courses.

College women are evidently planning as usual to go to college. The "co-eds" east and west will soon be back. Wellesley, Smith, Bryn Mawr, and Mount Holyoke have as hitherto their large and comfortable waiting list, and the entering class at Smith is to be record-breaking. Some of the prosperous junior colleges in the Central West—like William Woods—are actually this very month increasing their dormitory accommodations to house the largest number yet of women students. President Serena writes that any girl out there can go to college because every parent appears prosperous.

The sky, however, is not without a cloud or two. Any new development in the war zone may oblige us all to take up our belts a hole or two. The sinking of a liner or another break-up on the Russian front may change the plans of many a family, forced to revise the family budget, and keep the daughter home from college even though she has "signed up" and packed her trunk. Too many exemptions from the draft or the conscription of a boy whose turn had not seemed near may hold back the girl from college for family affection's sake. "Bumper" crops and "the plenty of money" said to be circulating on the western coast may find their offset in the higher cost of living. Into commerce, industry, agriculture, transportation, girls here as in Europe may be drawn whose only thought now is the good times they will have in college. For initiative, organization, administration, leadership, college women—actual or potential—will be sought, if women are required at all. Mount Holyoke and Rockford expect a full attendance, yet their presidents are evidently not unmindful of such possibilities.

State institutions and others least dependent on tuition fees are comparatively free from worry. Yet they must know that they are particularly representative and most quickly responsive to the pull of public feeling. They give military training, too, and the Government will naturally turn to them, if need arises, for its minor officers. With the tempting bait of abnormal wages due to scarcity of labor dangling before many an impecunious student's eye, some who need to keep at their books may be drawn off. The three forces likely to affect attendance, in the composite judgment of the Dean of Syracuse and other educational experts, may play alike on all our institutions: conscription, volunteering for various forms of service, and subtle economic pressure as yet unfelt which

may bear on those who have to count their pennies and also on the well-to-do whose incomes even pledged to college benefactions may be in part diverted to war needs or for the time withheld.

For whatever comes we must be ready; even the projection of the war to our own shores. We must think ahead in terms of any possibility as President Wheeler, of California, dares to do in a letter from which I quote the portentous sentence: "By another year I expect that the attendance of men in the two upper classes will have been reduced practically to zero." This is a world war. Anything may happen.

What are our universities and colleges doing in the premises?

(1) They are keeping cool. They are meeting the needs of the hour and making ready for that reconstruction hour we all await with eagerness. To meet these two supreme conditions they all at last are sure the teaching staff must be as far as possible maintained. This stand Dartmouth promptly took last spring, though she knew her deficit was to be colossal. Not all colleges could act so reassuringly at once. Some had to let instructors go. In various institutions, large and small, no three months or Easter notice could be given. In fact, one of the biggest universities in the land was as late as June withholding word as to the financial year beginning July 1. Provision was elsewhere made to terminate any teaching contract at thirty days' notice. With the loss of tuition fees and of dormitory charges looming large, with a rise already near of 25 per cent. in the cost of manual labor and of 50 per cent. in fuel, with surplus incomes going to the Government which might else come perhaps to subscriptions and endowments, budget-making was no easy task last spring. But almost everywhere the task was so performed as to keep the teaching unit practically solid. The universities and colleges did not lose their heads.

(2) The President and the Secretary of War want this year to see more students than last year in college. Smaller classes mean better instruction and better trained men. President Pendleton, of Wellesley, writes: "The generation which is now represented by our college students will have to deal with the conflicting and difficult problems involved in reconstruction when peace comes. They must therefore stay in college

these days." The upper classes can not be so large in men's institutions. Presidents Rhees and Comfort stress this point. But every loss can be offset this very month. The duty rests on everyone who loves his college or his alma mater to work these weeks at any sacrifice of time or money to ensure a freshman class at least twice as large as ever in the past. If you must sacrifice, let it be—as the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* says—"something less important." Alumnus, student, friend—whatever college has your love—do your bit for it, and do it now.

(3) A nation-wide campaign of patriotic education is rapidly developing. No one can doubt that who knows what took place at the Hotel Astor in New York on July 26. Vassar's president is already devoting himself solely to "the mobilization of educational institutions for the war emergency." Various presidents are on leave of absence in the public service. Under President McCracken's direction ten teams of four speakers each are planning to start within a fortnight to speak in every city, town, and village in New York State on the causes of the war, our reasons for participation in it, our military and our economic needs, and what is to be done when the war ends. Our universities and colleges are assuming leadership in all this work.

They are proving—no matter what their faults—that they are necessary both to the well-being and to the existence of the nation. They are helping mightily and intelligently to make "the world safe for democracy." No loss of income or of students will blind them to their duty or paralyze their energy. They trust their friends to help them over the financial strain and to increase their financial strength when war is done. They know that for every student this year missing there will be many a substitute in years to come when all the forces of society combine—as they all will—to multiply, if only for the public weal, the number who will want to go to university and college.

America has barely begun to send her boys and girls to college. Only about one-half of one per cent. were there last year. When we complete our cosmic and colossal job, there will be no keeping our young people out of college. Even now one need be no great prophet to foresee

A throng is on the brightening way
All hail, swift-coming larger day.

MUNICIPAL REVOLUTION UNDER MAYOR MITCHEL

BY H. S. GILBERTSON



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MAYOR JOHN PURROY MITCHEL, OF NEW YORK CITY

THE Mitchel administration in New York City is now on trial for its life, the real grievance of the complainants being that instead of merely talking and promising municipal democracy, it has actually executed an unprecedented program of government for all the people.

January 1, 1914, was doomsday for those who looked upon the city government as something to live on, rather than under. Mayor Mitchel distinguished himself at the outset by his manner of filling the commissionships. In just a day or so the district political leaders found out that this administration demanded something more in the way of fitness than a vote-compelling per-

sonality. Those who felt themselves ordained or slated to fill important berths in the municipal building were handed application blanks which asked a number of searching questions concerning their particular training and experience. The mortality among the practical politicians of no special ability was high, and men who knew municipal administration in its several branches were called to service. The Mitchel administration has been one of experts.

This has been the city's salvation. Years of extravagance and mismanagement under both Tammany and Fusion administrations had nearly exhausted the city's credit. By placing the valuations on property at a full hundred per cent. and by neglecting needed public improvements it had been possible to keep the debt within the constitutional 10 per cent. limit. Early in this administration the coming of the European war compelled the city to meet maturing obligations of \$100,000,000 in gold at a critical time in the money market. The Mayor and the Comptroller sat down with the leading bankers of the city and took account of the city's financial methods. It appeared that no longer could non-revenue-producing improvements be passed up to the future for payment, but that all such charges (after a period of transition) must be met out of current revenues. This policy has been made law and will be in full effect next January. Because the city is now paying as it goes instead of buying brooms with the proceeds of fifty-year bonds, and because of other conditions beyond the control of the present local authorities, the budget, which reached \$211,114,136.82 for 1917, does not in any way reflect the administration's achievements.

How to keep down expenses and still do what they wanted to do for the people was the hard problem put up to Mitchel and his commissioners in 1914. In spite of a growing population and increasing demands and a much-expanded program of

service, the actual running of the administrative departments cost \$3,000,000 less in 1916 than in 1913. By employing an advertising expert and putting intelligence into its methods and particularly by cutting out waste circulation, the Civil Service Commission reduced the cost of its advertising for the position of firemen from \$1,003.28 in 1912 to \$93.29 in 1914 and increased the number of applicants from 4810 to 7028. The Charities Department discovered that to reach its institutions on Blackwell's Island ten ferry-boats were employed, with crews and dockage facilities. By the simple expedient of building a nine-story storehouse under the Queensboro Bridge (which crossed the island without communicating with it) and providing elevator connections, it will be possible to eliminate the ferry service and pay for the cost of the improvement out of savings in three years, with all its modern facilities thrown into the bargain. These are typical economies.

SERVICES FOR THE WHOLE PEOPLE

By far the greatest practical measure ever taken in America to secure the permanent well-being of a city's inhabitants is the zoning resolution of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, of July 25, 1916. It limits the height and restricts the character and usage of buildings in such a way as to check the dangerous drift toward crowded, unsanitary housing conditions in offices and factories. It insures that residence districts shall remain residence districts and commercial districts remain commercial districts until the owners of property therein shall decide otherwise—irresponsible individual invaders may no longer ruin a neighborhood at will. It goes a long way to insure the future adequacy of the transportation and sewerage systems upon which the city has spent great sums. So scientific and thorough was the investigation upon which this resolution was based, and so completely was the public taken into the confidence of the city government, that it finally was passed without the slightest opposition from the real-estate interests—a most remarkable victory for the principle of regulation.

In the field of public health, this administration will be known for the great advance it has made as a public teacher of hygiene and for the gradual reaching out into new fields of control, such as of conditions in public conveyances and in factories—policies

whose practical value is attested by a diminishing death rate. The street-cleaning department had made no material advances since the famous administration of Colonel Waring, twenty years before. The present commissioner reduced the cost of regular work in 1916 to the lowest figure in six years and yet increased the average wages, provided a more effective and frequent flushing of the streets, and executed a more satisfactory garbage contract. Fire losses dropped from \$29,008,383 in 1911, 1912, and 1913 to \$22,721,233 in 1914, 1915, and 1916—the result of better equipment and organization in the fire department, and particularly the cutting out of political appointments, and greatly increasing the number and thoroughness of inspections by the Fire Prevention Bureau.

Upon the police department a peculiar obligation to make good had been imposed by the revelations of corruption in the department in connection with the sensational Rosenthal murder in 1912. Thorough study had been made of the administration and the organization of the department and recommendations had been made for its improvement. Arthur Woods, Mitchel's Police Commissioner, put into effect most of these recommendations, together with others of his own, based upon an actual experience in the department. He broke up the organization of gangsters who had killed for hire. The number of murders dropped from 286 in 1913 to 257 in 1914, to 246 in 1915, to 192 in 1916. Burglaries decreased 20 per cent. Gambling has appreciably diminished. As for the "red-light" district, New York has none.

The law department has broadened its scope from a routine agency for the giving of legal advice and the prosecution of suits on behalf of the municipal corporation and has brought on behalf of citizens a number of suits for the reduction of public-service rates, in one instance bringing about savings to consumers of electric current of about \$1,750,000 per annum.

FACILITATING COMMERCE

To the credit of the Mitchel administration also belongs the conscientious, thorough plan for settling the grade-crossing nuisance on the west side of Manhattan Island, a project involving an expenditure on the part of the New York Central Railroad of approximately \$100,000,000. This great improvement, temporarily in abeyance, will

make available to the citizens several new park areas, eliminate a long-standing eyecore in one of the best residential sections, remove the cause of many accidental deaths, and, by the establishment of greatly increased yard spaces, contribute largely to the settlement of the market problem and the reduction of the high cost of living in the city.

Important plans for municipalizing a great portion of the waterfront facilities of Brooklyn through the purchase and extension of existing privately owned marginal railroads have been worked out, but not yet consummated. Within its restricted jurisdiction the administration has done much also to develop the facilities of New York for handling transatlantic traffic by the erection of a number of large new piers at several points in the harbor. Full development of the harbor according to consistent plans, however, awaits a more complete coöperation of the State of New Jersey and of the Federal Government.

The commercial interests of New York have good and honest reasons for desiring the return of the present administration.

THE CHILDREN OF THE CITY

The four years have brought improvements in the conditions surrounding childhood. In the July number of the *REVIEW* the most interesting of the Gary schools in New York was described. It remains to add that four years ago more than 100,000 children in the city were receiving considerably less than their full quota of the mere elements of an education. William Wirt, the school superintendent in Gary, Ind., was called to New York to experiment with his plan in the great city. It was soon discovered that New York, with a moderate expenditure of money for new equipment, and by employing all the school plant all of the time, could not only meet elementary school needs for every child, but could supply lectures, auditoriums, shops, gymnasiums, playgrounds, and numerous other incidents of a liberal education, which have heretofore been at the disposal of the children of the rich in private schools.

Playgrounds have been more than doubled in number and, in portions of the city where they could not be established, the police have closed to traffic certain streets during a few hours of the day for play purposes. The policeman, by the way, has become the children's friend and helper instead of their arch enemy as formerly.

Not only the children in normal circumstances, but the orphans in asylums, came in for a better deal. It had been the custom of the city for many years to accept unquestioningly the State Board of Charities' certificate of fitness for the scores of institutions under denominational control as their warrant for receiving city funds for the care of dependent children. The Charities Commissioner, like the rest of the administration, decided to call a halt on this free and easy way of disposing of responsibilities. From such information as he had, he ventured the assertion that the management of many of these institutions constituted "a scandal and a disgrace." The Governor ordered an investigation, which revealed a shocking state of child neglect and abuse. This exposure, which trod heavily on the toes of some of Mayor Mitchel's own co-religionists, put the institutions permanently on their good behavior, and the city now knows, when it makes its annual gift of \$5,000,000, just about what it is to get in return. Apart from this, the Charities Commissioner has introduced and gradually extended a system whereby as many normal children as possible are placed in private homes, the city, if need be, contributing a sum to their support to the foster parent instead of to an institution. The city now places no child of less than eight years in an institution.

At Randall's Island, where the city maintains one of the largest institutions for defective children in the country, unspeakable conditions prevailed. The administration has taken steps for the establishment of a new plant thoroughly modern in its equipment and manned by medical experts instead of by brutal, ignorant, under-paid political hacks.

BETTER CARE FOR UNFORTUNATES

The Municipal Lodging House, an institution of importance, particularly in hard times, was, until the winter of 1914, a dumping ground for miscellaneous humanity in distress. A number of beds were occupied by permanent political boarders on the mailing list of Tammany Hall. The Commissioner of Charities, after some thrilling experiences with the powers that used to be, instituted a new method of dealing with these unfortunate people. He segregated them according to the causes of their dependency. An employment bureau was established for those who could work, and the sick and the criminal were assigned to appro-

prate treatment. The Lodging House became, in short, a constructive agency for the salvage of human derelicts.

Towards those who have offended against society the city has assumed a new and humane attitude. In 1916 the system of indeterminate sentence which had been applied with great success to juvenile offenders was extended to adults committed to the workhouse for minor offenses and to the penitentiary for more serious ones. The Parole Commission, set up under a new law, began thoroughly to investigate the antecedents of each prisoner and his crime and to apply such corrective measures as might be necessary to make him a fit member of society. Many lives which would have been wrecked under the old legalistic theory of punishment have been rehabilitated. The system as a whole is, on the one hand, a boon to first offenders and, on the other, a terror to hardened criminals, who are gradually seeking more comfortable working arrangements in less progressive cities.

THE CITY'S EMPLOYEES

Such are a few of innumerable details of the revolution which has been going on around City Hall Square. The public knows about it but vaguely. Little of it is picturesque; much of it for the moment is exceedingly unpopular. But it wins in the long run, working its way down through the rank and file and out to the man on the street. The spirit of the leaders has been infused into the army of the 100,000 workers who constitute the great municipal machine. For several years there has been going on a minute and careful investigation of the nature and amount of service and the compensation to each of the city employees. Astonishing discrepancies prevailed until, after a minute investigation of every city office and employment, there was laid down a code of work specifications, a standard of service and compensation which has replaced the old system of favoritism and pull for increased pay and promotion. In this way the city has given a square deal to its employees and has exacted from them the same in return.

For those about to enter the city offices a radically new point of view has been adopted by the Civil Service Commission.

The charge that such investigation put a premium on mere "book learning" no longer holds in New York. For every office requiring special fitness and practical ability, special tests under actual work conditions are provided. More and more, also, considerations of professional merit, as determined by competitive examination, are applied to the higher officials. The commission, so far from being merely, as formerly, an instrument for eliminating political parasites and the conspicuously unfit, is rapidly becoming a highly specialized employment bureau.

In its dealings with its own personnel and organization, the Mitchel administration has been distinguished by an eagerness for self-examination, and it has never hesitated to use the axe, even in dangerous proximity to its friends. It ruthlessly exposed the shortcomings of the coroner system by delving into the acts of its own associates elected on the 1913 Fusion ticket and, when the facts so warranted, backed a measure for its reorganization. Sixty thousand dollars a year in political patronage was thus voluntarily alienated.

Within recent months the murder of a young woman which was concealed for many days, finally disclosed a weak spot in the Detective Bureau of the Police Department. Mayor Mitchel immediately ordered the Commissioner of Accounts to investigate the facts and spare none. Out of this incident will doubtless come measures of wholesome reorganization.

WILL MITCHEL COME BACK?

Reform administrations have an unhappy habit of failing to come back. But this year a brighter outlook presents itself. Tammany has been starving for eight years; its vitality appears to have been greatly lowered. The fact is that with the growth of social needs, the increasing demands of commerce, and the general habit of looking to the city for help in all directions, the city must perform a certain amount of service for all its citizens, and unless it is performed with the utmost economy, by men who know what they are about, the treasury and the credit of the city will break under the strain. The people of New York appear to be recognizing that fact.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

WHAT THE ROOT MISSION LEARNED ABOUT REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA

THE return to America, last month, of the Root Mission was the occasion of an article in the *New York Nation* referring to the message delivered by Mr. Root and his associates to Russia, and commenting, at the same time, on the message that he has brought back from the Russian revolutionists to America. Mr. Root's first public pronouncement at Petrograd is characterized as "one of the masterly documents of the war." That speech, says the *Nation*, showed perfect understanding blended with an intelligent sympathy—qualities that are equally manifest in his utterances since the return of the mission to the United States.

In reply to an inquiry about the stability of the government at Petrograd, Mr. Root remarked: "We took a long time to form the Government of the United States of America, and I judge from the newspapers that we have not yet perfected it and that a good deal remains to be done." This, the *Nation* reminds us, is exactly the tone of Mr. Root's first addresses to the Russian revolutionists. He began by telling them that America had no desire to patronize, on the one hand, or to prostrate herself in humility, on the other. We were what we were, and we were ready to take the new Russia for what she was, confident only that beneath the differences of national temper and organization, there was the essential bond of democratic aspirations.

The *Nation* lays stress on this conception of the ultimate purpose of the American mission as being "less to teach the Russians than learn, less to help them than to understand what they are doing to help themselves. What the Root mission has been, and we hope will continue to be most useful in, is the education of the American people to faith in Russia and sympathy for her tremendous tasks."

All of Mr. Root's public addresses made

since his return to this country, have been in line with this thought. Thus, in responding to the welcome extended by the City of New York through Mayor Mitchel, on August 15, Mr. Root said:

The duty which was imposed upon the special diplomatic mission to Russia was one of very great importance and significance, but its performance required no extraordinary qualities and involved no extraordinary merit. The way was plain, and we had, each one of us, merely to do our bit as best we could in the discharge of a simple and imperative duty. We did the best we knew how. We did it with the most perfect harmony and with whatever strength comes from united action. Drawn from all parts of the country, selected with an evident purpose to represent different points of view of the American people—a soldier, a sailor, a manufacturer, a retired capitalist, a banker, a labor leader, a Socialist, a New York lawyer—we all were absolutely united in our conception of the spirit of our mission and in the union of effort to perform our duty.

The speaker proceeded to relate and interpret the sequence of events from the outbreak of the Revolution last spring, to the present moment:

It is not the first time that the importance of the cause has been transferred to the individuals who have represented the cause. It was a great cause, it was a great mission. There never was in history a people finding itself in a more difficult and perilous position than the people of Russia found themselves in a few months ago.

They had been accustomed to receive orders and to obey. They had no habits of thought which would enable them, the great body of them, to evolve institutions through which to govern. And so this vast people which had never been permitted to speak or write or think upon self-government was left confused, bewildered, gathering in little groups in aimless and endless discussion. Then came the propaganda of the extreme Socialists and Anarchists, of the Internationals, the analogue in Russia to the I. W. W. of this country; the men whose model is that the worst is the best; the men who seek to destroy the industrial organization of the world, to destroy the nationalism of the world with a far-off dream in

its place of a universal brotherhood to govern all the world in harmony and peace.

These men, aided by thousands who had swarmed back to Russia from America, thousands who returned villifying and abusing the land that gave them refuge, gave them security, gave them liberty to think and speak and act; these men returned to Russia, declaring America to be as tyrannous as the Czar, and calling for the destruction, not for the setting up, of competent government in Russia, but for the destruction of all Governments—of America, of England, of France, of Italy, and, incidentally, of Germany. They poisoned the minds of the workingmen and of peasants and of soldiers. Their definite and distinct object was to destroy the whole industrial and national system of Russia. And they had the power in Petrograd, for there at the beginning the garrison adhered to them.

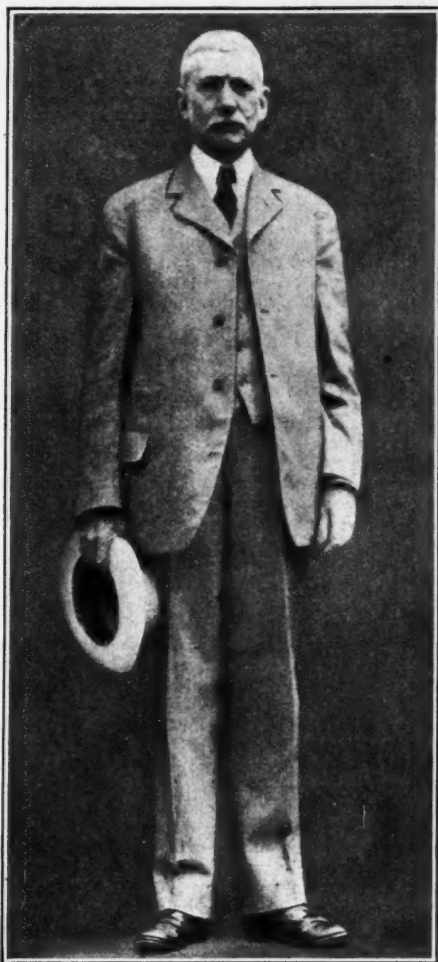
Into this condition of vast confusion and bewilderment was thrust a great German propaganda. Thousands of German agents swarmed over the line immediately upon the coming of the revolution. They awakened all the pro-Germans in Russia. They spent money like water. Millions upon millions were used. They bought people; they bribed people; they bought newspapers; they established newspapers; they circulated literature; they went to and fro among the troops at the front. They said, "Why go on fighting? This was the Czar's war; it was not your war; why go on? Let us have peace."

And the people of Russia, the soldiers of Russia, were wearied of war, as all the rest of Europe, and peace seemed so desirable to them that for the moment it seemed as if this German propaganda had captured Russia, had done what her arms never could do, captured Russia; and they made common cause with the internationals, the extremists. These men who were preaching a great world union of human freedom made common cause with the bribing and insidious agents of the German autocracy to overcome the freedom of Russia, and against these influences, with this attempt, with untrained minds, to build up a new republic, with the enemy at its gates, and the insidious influences sapping all their power, a few men in Russia made the bravest, noblest, most gallant fight of our time for the safety of human freedom and the building up of free self-government in their country.

It was the function of this mission not merely to carry a message of friendship and good feeling from the United States to Russia. As events developed before we reached Russia, it became the function of this group of American citizens to carry to the people of Russia a message of faith in democracy, to say to them: "Take heart, be of good cheer; faint not, despair not. We say to you from the hundred million free people of America, who for 140 years have been going on along the battles of democracy, that there lives a power in democracy that will overcome all evil, and it is with you, and with it you will triumph."

And since our departure from Petrograd processes that began before have been going on along the lines that were explained to us before we left, and the results that the Government then had in mind have been worked out and are there today, with Kerensky, that man of conviction, of intense purpose, of tremendous personality, devoted to his great cause to the last drop of his

Sept.—6



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MR. ELIHU ROOT

(From a photograph taken on the steps of the New York City Hall last month when the mission was welcomed back from Russia)

blood. Kerensky, who, when we were there, was agreed upon by the members of the government for his present position, now rules the destinies of Russia and with him are wise, prudent, sagacious men of affairs.

And so we have come back with faith in Russia, faith in the qualities of character that are the essential tests of competency for self-government, faith in the purpose, the persistency, and the power of the Russian people to keep themselves free, and they know that they cannot be free; that they cannot build up a structure of government based upon and conforming to the life and character and genius of the Russian people if Germany is allowed to dominate in their land.

Speaking at the New York Chamber of Commerce on the difficulties of the men now

at the head of the Russian Government, Mr. Root observed:

The extraordinary ease with which the Czar's government was removed was due not merely to the fact that it was an autocracy, but also to the fact that it did not govern efficiently; it was not up to the job; it had allowed Russia to drift into a position where there was vast confusion and they were on the verge of bankruptcy, and the government had become, practically, merely a government of suppression, a government of negatives that ceased to lead the people, so that the Czar and the bureaucracy were slipped off as easily as a crab sheds its hard shell when the proper time comes.

Now, into that state of affairs there came intervention by that malevolent power which is intermeddling with the affairs of every nation upon earth, stirring up discord, stimulating, feeding, financing all the forces of evil—doing it here among us now—that power that finds its account in alliance with all evil passions, all the sordid impulses of humanity in every nation in the world, entered into Russia. Thousands of agents poured over the border immediately upon the revolution.

Notwithstanding all this, in a country with no central government that had power to force its decrees, in a country with no police, a country in which the sanction and moral obligation of the laws had disappeared with the disappearance of the Czar, there reigned order to a higher degree than has existed in the United States of America during this period.

In the first enthusiasm for freedom in the liberation of political prisoners a great many ordinary criminal prisoners were also released and they went about and committed some depredations which, of course, all found their way into the newspapers, but even with that, the general average of peace and order, of respect for property and life in Russia was higher than could reasonably be expected from any 180,000,000 people in the world under any government.

Now that extraordinary phenomenon called for a study, a careful study, not merely from the newspapers or from talking with government officials, but by countless serious interviews and conversations with men of all grades and stripes and callings and conditions of life, and those studies satisfied all the members of this mission

that the Russian people possessed to a very high degree qualities that are necessary for successful self-government. They have self-control equaled in few countries of the world. They have persistency of purpose; they have a most kindly and ingrained respect—not only respect—regard for the rights of others. They will not willingly do an injustice to any one, and that sense of justice carries with it a broad character. They have a noble idealism which is developed and exhibited in the minds that are enlarged by education, and they have a strong sense of the mission of liberty in the world, and they have an extraordinary capacity for concerted action.

If their character is unequal to the task, all the aid of all the great countries in the world cannot give them their freedom. Freedom must find its foundation, its sure foundation, within the people themselves and we think the Russians have that sure foundation.

As to Russia's financial future, Mr. Root has reminded us, since his return, that Russia's paper money is not in any worse case to-day than our own was in the Civil War. To members of the New York Chamber of Commerce, he said:

Now there is great financial difficulty in Russia; the old régime brought the country into a very involved and critical condition financially; there is great disturbance industrially. But when I have met people, and I did, a great many, who shake their heads over the industrial and financial conditions there, I have thought always, with a cheerful reassurance, of what a fine character are the people, and I have remembered that our dollar in the Civil War was as low as the Russian ruble, and I haven't any doubt that the character of the Russian will pull up their finances just as the character of America pulled up our finances.

No one can tell what the outcome will be, but this is certain, that Russia, tired of the war, worn and harried by war; Russia, which has lost 7,000,000 of her sons, every village in mourning, every family bereaved, Russia has again taken up the heavy burden; she has restored the discipline of her army; she has put away the bright vision of peace and rest, and returned yet again to the sacrifice and suffering of war in order that she might continue free.

RUSSIAN TRAINING FOR DEMOCRACY

IN THE report of an interview with Mr. Elihu Root, head of the Russian Commission, appearing early in August, shortly after his return to this country, he is quoted as stating that the Russian people had had a preparation for democracy in their rural communities. Much light is thrown on this important statement in a letter from Russia to the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Lausanne), together with much else of interest. The author, Ossip-Lourié, says:

The penalty of death is abolished. The liberty of the press is established, and that of free assemblage. Women will have the right to vote. Why not? When we see how men have used all the rights with which they are taxed, the voting of women should not disquiet us. What could they do that is worse? In the different phases of the great drama which has just burst upon the world the Russian women have been present, not as passive figurants, but as ready auxiliaries of the men. They have taken a very active part in the work of enfranchisement and renovation. Many radiant figures emerge from the circles that have struggled for liberty.

Could the revolution which cries to the oppressed: "Down with injustice, down with servitude, down with despotism!" say to the Russian women, "You alone shall have no part in emancipation"? The woman who has the right to act openly and freely will be of more worth, perhaps, than she who, under the old régime, sought to influence men by occult methods.

The writer goes on to remark that Europe has long been a laboratory for social and political experiments and that Russia may well be allowed to make a few in her turn. Commenting upon the rapidity with which all the world has accepted the new order of things, he makes some caustic comments on the interested behavior of the grand dukes, who, on finding they had nothing more to hope from their old masters, slammed the palace doors and became republicans like everybody else:

The grand dukes found it not beneath them to flaunt in the public press the intimate troubles of the Romanoff family. . . . I prefer the attitude of the common law prisoners in the prison of Odessa, who, as soon as they learned of the end of the old régime, dismissed their guards and elected a Guardian Committee after having dispatched a promise of adherence to the Provisional Government. The cells are no longer locked, for the prisoners have sworn not to escape and to lead exemplary lives. . . . I have more confidence in these than in those sorry individuals whose names figure in the lists seized at Okhrana (secret police of public safety) and made public. Their rôle consisted in espionage, provoking confidences and denunciation. In order not to be suspected in their surroundings they threw suspicion on honest people. Ah! How many victims the terrible bacillus of suspicion has made!

Ambassadors, consuls, princesses, favorites, former ministers, the Holy Synod—Pobedonostsev must be turning in his grave!—all of them, with the same impulse, are turning away from what they seemed to venerate. The most irreproachable articles are published by the press which but yesterday exalted the benefits of the old régime. Monarchists? Czarists? They seem to no longer exist. Doubtless Nicholas Romanoff, in his solitude at Tsarskoe-Selo, has become a republican, too. Perhaps he has been one all along without knowing it; it requires exceptional circumstances like the fall of the empire to reveal it to him, as to so many others. Everybody is republican, and since, thanks to the dismissal of Milinkoff, civil war has been averted, the world will soon number another republic.

The writer here explains his rather surprising observation that Russia is essentially democratic and that the idea of a republic has found fertile soil in the great mass of peasants by saying that the traditions created by the *mir* and the *artel* have already prepared them for such a form of government.

The *mir*—a rural commune—and the *artel*—an association in which every member takes an active part in a determined collective labor—are of very ancient origin; they existed as early as the eleventh century. Each member of the *artel* must perform without objection the work assigned him by the *starosta*—a manager who is usually elected unanimously; no one is allowed to occupy himself with any work outside the jurisdiction of the *artel*. The fundamental principles of this organization are the partial alienation of individual rights, collective responsibility, and solidarity.

There are *artels* of fishermen, of hunters, of artisans. The *artels* of carpenters and joiners are as celebrated as those of bank cashiers. There are even *artels* of agricultural laborers, a very modern formation. There are *artels* which possess millions and others whose capital consists solely of their tools. The great rich *artels* have sections in different cities. In our time the *artels* have undergone considerable development. Private individuals, companies, and even the Government likes to employ them, since guarantees of probity are a tradition of these organizations.

The *mir* and the *artel* are, in fact, essentially a mode of self-government. The peasants have the habit of assembling, and in their assemblies they are accustomed to express themselves freely and independently, especially when an agrarian question is concerned. Agricultural Russia is teaching itself to talk, and its voice will be immense, not in an infinity of tones, as some pretend, but blended to a single note, the earth. . . . The *movijik* does not know how to read or write, but he has republican tendencies.

Mr. Ossip-Lourié relates further that in the middle ages the Russian principalities were veritable republics, in spite of their monarchical form, the prince being elected by the *vetse*, whose origin is to be discerned in the *mir* and the *artel*.

Narodopravstvo—popular sovereignty—was the basis of these old democracies. In the fifteenth century Viatka was a republic. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Novgorod the Great was the capital of a vast republic governed by *prosadniks* (presidents). In the fifteenth century it was ruled by a woman president, Marfa Possadnitsa, the widow of the *prosadnik* Boretski, and said to be a great orator. The city still preserves the Place of the Bell, at whose stroke the sovereign people assembled.

Russia, therefore, has republican traditions, and everything leads to the belief that the Constitutional Assembly will proclaim a republic—e. g., the evolution of the Cadets, monarchists yesterday, republicans to-day. . . . Tchekhov would not recognize his world. A great wind of idealism blows over the ruins of the Czarist autocracy. They are all drunk with liberty and enthusiasm. Will it prove a creative intoxication or a blinding one, sleeping upon illusions? . . . But is it not beautiful to see a great people lift itself from putrid debris to consciousness and action?

Let us accord them our confidence and hope that they will accomplish loyally their duty to themselves and to the allied nations?

THE ALCOHOL QUESTION IN FRANCE

FOR many years the famous editor of *La Revue* (Paris) has conducted a brisk campaign against alcoholic abuses. Since the beginning of the war his efforts to rid his country of this scourge have been redoubled. In the June number of his magazine appeared an article from his pen called "King Alcohol," and in the August number he returns to the attack under the title of "The Passion of Our Lord Alcohol," opening with these words:

The government has just given partial satisfaction to the demands we have not ceased to press upon it since the beginning of hostilities. . . . The government thus fulfils its primordial duty after three years of war!

He continues in this section of his article, entitled "Incomplete Repentance," to criticize the government harshly for the inadequacy of its measures, stating that since the beginning of the war alcoholism among women and minors has become alarming. He is especially severe on the laxness of the laws in permitting the sale of "legal wines" as well as of natural wines, *i. e.*, of artificial beverages compounded of various elements including grain alcohol and manifold essences and drugs. He is, however, an advocate of protecting the wine industry of France and permitting reasonable use of natural wines, which he classes among hygienic beverages. He approves the new fiscal project of a tax of 50 per cent. on places selling spirits or alcoholized wines to be consumed on the place and of 25 per cent. on shops selling exclusively goods to be taken home. But he thinks it a mistake to tax resorts selling only "hygienic drinks, in which we include natural wines," believing that if such resorts were untaxed they would greatly favor temperance and provide places of social relaxation for women and minors as well as men. Passing over this repetition of well-known arguments against the use of spirits as a beverage, we quote a section of his article of special interest in America, as follows:

At the present moment France is attracting the eyes of the world more than ever before. It is not enough to show our enthusiasm regarding the English, Americans, Italians, Portuguese or Russians who are dwelling among us. We must likewise watch over their moral security. But alcoholism menaces all in the same degree. The "Teddies" who arrive from the United States total or partial prohibitionists are exposed to multiple dangers and temptations. The great American

republic accepts with heroism the sacrifices in men and in money which the war against the Germans may demand. But let us take care! We shall commit an evil action if her children find themselves exposed not only to the danger of being slain at the front, but to that of being poisoned by alcohol. Many writers in the United States have already manifested fears upon this point. A few concrete cases would suffice to cause an outburst of opinion on the other side. The Germans are watching and they will not be slow to exploit such sentiments, which are justified, indeed, to paralyze the grandiose impulse which is drawing the noble population of the United States towards the sacred cause of the Allies.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs in France has a new rôle to fulfil. It is the elementary duty of the government and the Parliament to think of this and to assist him. The heroism of the soldiers at the front demands to be completed by the dignity of our life at the rear! Who would dare contend that this condition indispensable to our success is realized to-day!

We cannot lay too much emphasis upon the decree issued by the British Military Authority, January 15, 1917, prohibiting the circulation of alcohol in all the French regions occupied by the English Army! And this "in order to respond to the declarations of civil and military authorities signalizing alcoholism as an obstruction to the agricultural and industrial production required by the necessities of national defense." Shall we wait until the American too, perhaps, shall inflict a like humiliation upon our Ministers of the Interior, of Munitions, of Supplies, and many other of their *confrères*?

Both our national honor and the vital interests of the country are here concerned.

The English consider themselves the better authorized to act in this manner, since, without troubling themselves about the exorbitant power of English alcoholism, they have taken such energetic measures that convictions for drunkenness in the United Kingdom have fallen more than 50 per cent. from 1913 to 1916. The Central Commission of Alcoholic Control which enjoys the most extensive authority in England, declares, in its third report, for the year 1916, that female alcoholism has diminished in England by about 50 per cent. One trembles with indignation when one compares the criminal inactivity of our authorities with what has been done in this respect in Great Britain and elsewhere.

The above-named commission succeeded in establishing canteens for almost one million workmen employed in the factories controlled by the Government and in Governmental establishments. And it states that "This is not merely a question of hygiene and of output, but is also an excellent guarantee against alcoholism."

What shall we say, finally, to the experiments it carried out at Carlisle and at Gretna? It bought, in the neighborhood of these two industrial centers, all the drinking resorts and took them under its direction. In consequence alcoholism was diminished to an utterly unexpected degree, since in these conditions the interests of the liquor-sellers in stimulating consumption were entirely eliminated.

OUR ENGINEERS' BIG JOB IN FRANCE

THE American engineer troops already in Europe, and those soon to follow, have before them a most important part to play, ranging as it does from the construction of wharves at the point of the army's disembarkation to the providing of camouflage, or concealment, at the actual battle front. These American engineers must establish railway communication from their base to the very trenches; they must install water supply for cantonments, camps, and fortifications; and it is planned even to light by electricity the very dug-outs on the first lines wherever possible.

Those who know the extent of the preparations now being made in the United States, and the supplies and equipment that are being sent to Europe, are amazed at the magnitude and completeness of the arrangements. While the war area of France is a well-settled agricultural region, from an engineering standpoint it means virtually the opening up of a new country for occupation and habitation by a stranger population of a million men, providing for them convenient and adequate transportation, and the essential facilities of a well-organized community. Such a project, aside from its rapid execution and confessedly temporary nature, with but the essential comforts of life, properly might be likened to constructing a collection of interrelated cities, so far as streets or roads, water supply, sanitation, lighting, and intercommunication are concerned, whether such work is done on the very front line or at the reserve or training camps in the immediate rear. All of this building and installation must be done with a minimum of draft on the resources and population of the country occupied, and in addition, not for one instant must there ever be lost sight of the fact that the primary and only function of this great transitory population is its offensive and fighting power.

A résumé of the work before the United States Engineers authorized by the Chief of Engineers, U. S. Army, has appeared recently in the American technical press. It begins

with the extraordinary statement that the value of railroad materials and rolling stock alone being purchased in advance of the coming of the great American army is about five times that of all purchases made annually in the United States for the Panama Canal during the last four or five years. There has been, of course, important railway construction by the allied armies in France, but much of the older systems has been overtaxed and now needs extensive repairs and additions.

Likewise, there must be highway and bridge construction and repairs to enable the vast supplies to be brought up to the firing lines, and for this purpose approved Ameri-



Photograph by Jacques Boyer, Paris

RAILROAD BRIDGE-BUILDING ON THE WESTERN FRONT

can road machinery is being sent forward. A forestry regiment is to cut and dress European timber, using American sawmills, and prepare it for wharf and pier construction and the building of cantonments. Electrical engineers will provide central stations for lighting and power, with current available for searchlights and other purposes at the front-line trenches.

For water supply an engineer connected with recent improvements at Washington, D. C., and at Toronto, a West Point graduate recalled to the Army, has been sent to France to assume charge of the military water system. Well-driving apparatus, pipe, pumps, and other supplies will be shipped forthwith, if they are not already on the ground.

Behind the lines European engineers have

devised satisfactory system of broad- and narrow-gage railway, and it only remains for the Americans to bring over rails and rolling stock and install similar systems for their needs as speedily as possible. Indeed, these lines running to the very front, are designed not merely to bring up men and supplies, but to remove the wounded and the material salvage from the field, for modern military economy demands that used cart-ridge cases and other material should be remade and re-used and the waste minimized.

Battle-mapping in Europe has been reduced to a most exact science, and American engineers will have to learn from French and British experts the modifications in topographic methods required by modern conditions of war. The same is true of battlefield illumination, for which the appliances already found useful are being manufactured in the United States on a large scale. Furthermore, with the American engineers the sign-painter is coming into his own also as a fighting man, for experts who have beautified our highways with more or less original conceptions, now, under well-known artists and men skilled in color effects, will show Europeans what really can be accomplished in the way of camouflage.

The presence of expert mining engineers among the officers and practical miners in the

ranks, lends color to the belief that extensive mining operations along American lines are contemplated. As American practice in mining is less conservative and involves much more rapid and bolder construction than is customary in Europe, its application is awaited with interest.

The engineering equipment of the American Army includes the necessary tools and appliances used in every branch of engineering, from mere intrenching tools to power trench diggers, wrecking cars, concrete plants, and pile-drivers.

The duty of the American engineers is, in large measure, twofold, inasmuch as they will have to assist materially their allies in their transportation troubles as well as perform the many and diversified duties required for the well-being and fighting efficiency of the American expeditionary force. Indeed, it is so large an undertaking that not merely is American military engineering and the American army put to a heroic test, but all American non-military engineering as well, for the undisputed triumphs in the way of bold conception and economic organization and execution must be repeated in France if the American forces are to be supported properly and made efficient to render valuable assistance in striking the last hard blows that will bring the war to its close.

THE AGRICULTURAL RESTORATION OF FRANCE—NORTH AFRICAN AID

ONE cannot too strongly emphasize the importance of the adequate cultivation of French soil after this fearful time of "storm and stress" shall have passed away. What with the devastated areas requiring special attention and the great need of agricultural products, it will be most essential to enlist as many fit hands for the task as possible. Georges Aimel, in a late number of *La Revue* (Paris), advocates with earnest conviction the immigration of labor from the French possessions and protectorates of North Africa. The immigration should, he claims, be selective, since certain elements of the population would be ill-fitted to labor under climatic and other conditions so different from their own.

We reproduce the leading points of M. Aimel's article:

If there is one problem, he observes, out-

side of the pressing needs of the hour, which should engage the attention of those looking beyond the war, it is that of the recruiting of agricultural labor.

Even years before 1914, the depopulation of the rural districts was a recognized fact, passively or actively deplored. Sporadic good will, however, exerts but slight effect upon social phenomena whose causes are complex and deep-seated. Thus, despite warning and propaganda, the youths of the rural population were more and more lured to city life in the opening years of the century. This danger of flocking to the towns will be likely to grow more acute after the war.

We shall have, in the first place, great gaps in the male population of the country districts from the age of eighteen to forty-five. It might be said that the void would soon be filled by the children of the present, but,



A GROUP OF ALGERIAN ZOUAVES

unfortunately, we strike against another indisputable fact: a stationary, or even decreasing, birth-rate.

And even if the small landowner, returned from the war, works his bit with added zest, the simple husbandman, the day-laborer, feeling no such binding ties to the soil, will he willingly resume his monotonous country-life? It is hardly probable, and that for two reasons—one, psychological, the other, economic.

After having lived as comrades with all sorts and conditions of men, he will feel drawn to town life in whose atmosphere he would find a continuation of that social mixture.

The second, and main reason is that in the industrial centers of the invaded regions the mass of ruins and the mines will necessitate a vast amount of labor, with attractive wages.

The situation is threatening. At a time when it will be more than ever essential for the rich soil of France to yield all its treasures, there is reason to fear that a great portion of it will lie fallow or be but scantily cultivated. The outlook is grave. Let us seek a remedy.

The remedy, which ought to be immediate, can only be found in an immigration of labor which would not involve a risk of national danger, but, on the contrary, be an eventual source of enrichment. Let us think of the patient tenacity which the Germans, failing to subdue us by fire and sword,

will exercise in order to resume—unless care be taken—a slow, insidious, quiet invasion as if by infiltration. . . . We must, then, think of but one thing: an immigration of the natives of the French dominions and protectorates beyond the seas.

Among those peoples, who have not only evidenced their perfect loyalty but have shed their blood for France, there will be those who would continue to be devoted helpers after the conclusion of peace. But in view of the efficient aid expected from them, a selective method must be employed. Owing to a rigorous life in our climate, where the winter is at times severe, to the regular and arduous labor, we can count upon those people alone that are ethnically related to us, thus eliminating the Negro and the Annamese, who would ill bear our frosts, and would, moreover, adapt themselves with difficulty to our agricultural methods. In a word: we need whites, not negroes and Mongolians; these whites we find in the Berber or Berberized population of our Northern Africa.

* * *

It is a fact that the greater part of the natives of North Africa, whom people in general decorate with the generic and commodious term of Arabs, are but little entitled to that designation. Before the Moslem invasion there were no Arabs in Northern Africa; outside of Negroes there were only Berbers. "The type which seems the most widespread," says one authority, "the one which two-thirds of the inhabitants of North Africa more or less resemble, is one with a lengthened cranium, black hair and eyes, medium height, which is likewise the dominant type in Southern Europe, in Spain, Italy, in south-eastern France. It is, doubtless, one of the great races which have peopled Europe . . ." As a matter of fact,

there are nuclei, more or less dense, of people who in spite of time, invasions, and consequent mixture of blood, have abstained from contact with their Moslem conquerors to an extent which strikingly differentiates them from the latter.

While the Arab, by his character, his habits, is distinctly of the Oriental type, the Berber, physically and morally, is rather closely allied to the European. The first is as naturally indolent and improvident as the latter is active and saving; it may be added that the Arab is inclined to a nomadic and pastoral life, the Berber to a settled and agricultural one.

Now, the distinctive traits of the Berber are strikingly exemplified in the Kabyles and the Moroccans—that is, in a considerable part of the population of North Africa. The Kabyle is above all a husbandman; jealous of his independence, he sought refuge, and still lives, among his mountains, though, gradually grown docile by the French penetration, he may be found in all parts of Algeria. Tall, strong, adroit, he engages in all sorts of agricultural labor, and saves up a little hoard; he has, besides, in commerce, almost complete monopoly of the native retail grocery trade; of a sociable nature, finally, he quickly assimilates the improvements around him.

Like the Kabyle, the Moroccan Berber is a settled agriculturist, but the Atlas Mountains, which isolate him from the rest of North Africa, have allowed him to spread more generally in the plain between the mountains and the sea. He is willing to emigrate; enduring and robust, he is not repelled by hard labor; teachable, he makes an excellent soldier, a skilful and faithful domestic, while—another significant analogy with the Kabyle—the small grocer of every Moroccan port is a Berber.

The Kabyles of Algeria, the Moroccans of

Houz and of Susa, inured to labor of the soil, to a rigorous climate, and, finally, evincing a great likeness of character to the inhabitants west of the Mediterranean, seem, thus, to be expressly designed, in the colonial empire of France, to furnish her with the labor which she is seeking and of which she stands in such great need.

* * *

The eventuality contemplated here is not a mere adventurous proposition; it is based upon facts furnished by the Kabyle immigration in France in the four or five years prior to 1914, and upon the successful employment of Moroccan labor in the French ports in course of the war.

The advantages of a systematic recruitment of Berber labor would be twofold: It would promote French agriculture, and, particularly in Morocco, colonization, or, to be more exact, a closer, more sincere, and happier collaboration of the European with the native.

We must regard it as an established fact that if we do not put forth all our resources for our agricultural needs, we will incur the serious injury of another invasion by the Boches, disguised as Flemings or as Swiss, parasites rendered necessary by the urgent need of strong arms.

If, on the contrary, the labor-market can count upon obtaining a North-African contingent, we shall have, besides the immediate benefit, the indirect one of training adepts in our modern methods of farming and cattle-raising, who, on returning to their *bleds*, will become overseers or first-rate farmers. Moreover, the money saved by these laborers will not be spent abroad but will circulate in French colony or protectorate, thus enhancing their prosperity. Finally, by his sojourn in France the native will have acquired needs of which he was ignorant before, and which will make him a customer of our national industries.

HOW PARIS HAS STOOD THE TEST

THE heroic endurance of the French in the Titanic European conflict has become a commonplace. The conception of a nation light, frivolous, eager for glory, has made way for that of a people who have stood their awful test with a courage and in a spirit that have elicited the admiration of the world. That Paris, too, that Mecca of pleasure, should have shared in the noble attitude of the rest of the nation is an inspiring example.

M. Mithouard, writing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Paris), describes and explains the animating impulses of the Parisians, and his observations are elevating and interesting.

He says in part:

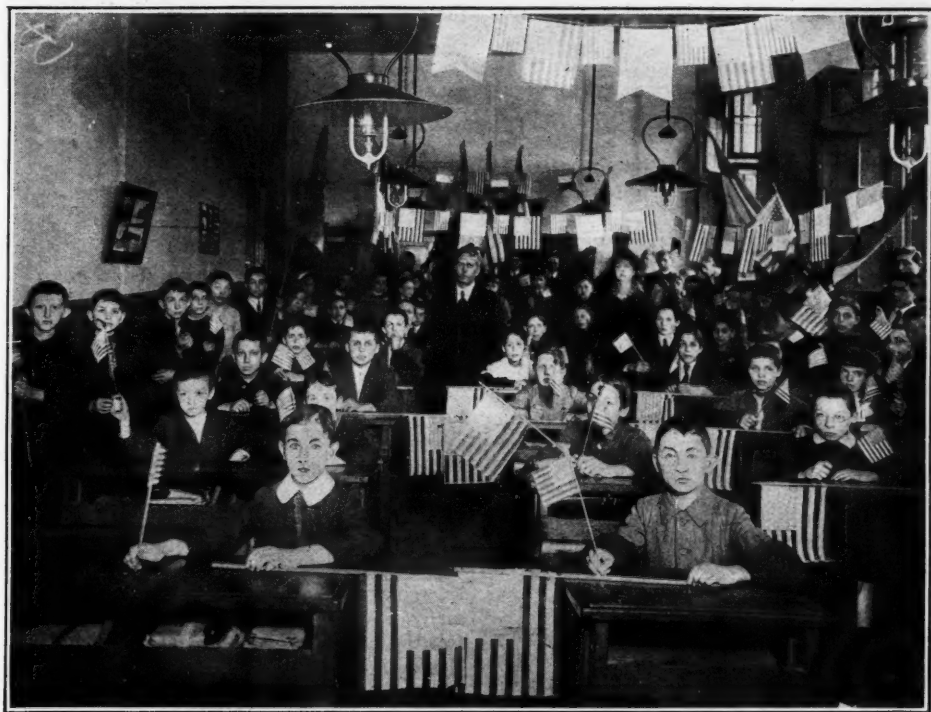
Modern wars differ from those of olden times

in that in the latter combatants alone were supposed to exercise courage, while the first draws upon all the moral forces of a country, assigning to them a military value. The risks are graver, all participate, the offensive power of the armies rests upon national discipline and popular resolve.

This characteristic did not escape the Germans, and with their usual painstaking calculation, their idea was in 1914 as well as 1870, to systematically incite a moral disorder among the French. To threaten the capital in the first place, hastily throw hordes of formidably armed men into the surrounding region, massacre the inhabitants, start conflagrations, and appear before the Parisians while they were still stunned with surprise—all that would have struck the city with a dismay which could not fail to precipitate political convulsions.

The stake was important, the prey easy: is not Paris the seat of all frivolity?

Outsiders know us but little for the most part, and in the case of the Germans, their wish of



A French official photograph, from Pictorial Press, N. Y.

SCHOOL CHILDREN OF PARIS LISTENING TO AN ADDRESS ON THE UNITED STATES ON THE FRENCH NATIONAL HOLIDAY, JULY 14

finding us pusillanimous urges them to misunderstand us.

There is no city as impenetrable as Paris to those who do not spend their lives there. That critical spirit, which is exercised against authority, even when it is in favor, that swiftness of judgment which strikes outsiders as a lack of judgment, exposes the Parisian to every sort of calumny.

When the Germans marched upon the capital with such fierce haste, they thought to finish us by striking France in the head. That good head—the Parisian deemed it an honor to show that they had no idea of losing it.

From the first day, the people of Paris were fixed in their resolve and displayed a sagacity equal to the occasion. While the diplomatic events which resulted in war were in progress, while the most menacing news was being circulated hour by hour, Paris remained calm.

Suddenly the news of Jaures' assassination is noised about. Everyone is in a state of tension, in fear of a revolution—which no one unchains. A single sentiment agitates all hearts: will the national defense be compromised by civil dissensions? Parisians have always been wont to consider facts in the order of their importance, and one dom-

inant, all-pervading thought throws sorrow and indignation into the background: the crucial thing is self-defense. The very ones who it was supposed would indulge in violent language, set the noblest example.

So it was evidenced from the first hour, under the most trying circumstances, that the population of Paris is not the "credulous, blind, hot-headed crowd" that Francisque Sarcey once termed them.

The writer goes on to describe the opening days of the war in Paris—the sudden suspension of activities, the provincial quiet of the town, the lack of news, the alternate anxiety and confidence of the people, their fortitude on receiving trying news—satisfied, since the authorities were telling them the truth—the sad influx of refugees, when all else was forgotten in the eager effort to succor them.

There is a feeling which makes itself felt by the Parisians at certain turning-points in their history—when the city is transported by a great joy or is wholly carried away by a lofty idea. All hearts are then drawn close together, all minds filled with the same thought, all faces bear the same expression.

When, after ten long days of waiting, the news was spread of the victory of the Marne, it found the Parisians as much masters of themselves as they had appeared in the trying days. Marvelous intelligence of a people prompt to consider at a glance all the aspects of a thing! That victory was the pride of Paris: the battle that liberated it under the given circumstances strikes it at once as the culminating point of its history. Yet, the aspect of the suburbs is unchanged; there is no outburst, no illumination. For the task is far from finished. For there is no manifestation grandiose enough not to seem paltry in face of such a splendid stroke of French genius.

A population that one fancied turbulent and frivolous, suddenly shows itself clear-sighted and determined, and the intuition with which it was credited, that volatile spirit which in happy times seized the bloom of every passing hour, hides a splendid gift, the growth of centuries—a sound sense, ever equal to the grandeur of events.

That a population surprised and shaken by turns, in less than two months, by German diplomatic duplicity, the declaration of war, the tragic death of a tribune, the news of the first reverses, the approach of the barbarian armies, and the sudden agitation of victory, retains its balance, is master of its nerves, indicates a moral power of the highest and noblest sort. That serenity does not astonish the well-informed: the Parisian owes something to himself, always.

But that fine courage is to be subjected to another assault: it must thenceforth face the test of time. Now, no matter how high an opinion one may have had of the Parisians, there is one virtue that one hesitated to accord them—patience.

There is not a single Parisian who is not convinced that the German nation is obstinate, submissive, and disposed to evil. To check a hatred so powerfully organized, there is no Parisian who does not secretly make it a point of honor to endure everything; and if impious voices are heard demanding a premature peace, it is not from Paris that they proceed, and it does not heed them.

It would be a mistake to compare the privations of 1870 to the present trials. Then the crisis was acute and brief. To-day, on the contrary, the hardships stretch over a long period: the continued anguish does not succeed in bending the people's souls.

One may boldly say that half of Paris is suffering from the most straitened circumstances. Yet not a murmur is heard, no disorder is manifested. Just the contrary,

the public tranquillity is more striking than at any other period of its history. Less crimes are being committed, and the police force has been diminished by a quarter without causing inconvenience.

Gradually, the necessary commodities are attaining such prices that the poor women of Paris wonder each morning how they will get through the day. Yet they do not overturn the stalls or bargain more than usually.

Who would recognize in this Paris the Paris of old, so difficult to impress, so free in its ways, impatient, and rebellious? It accepts with docility the regulations which succeed each other, even contradict each other.

To all the trials it supports without murmuring must be added the mourning of its homes. Not a family that has not spilled its blood, not a person whose friendships have not been snapped.

Such is the sum of the sorrows and sufferings of Paris, and it is evident that that vast assemblage of people, agitated before by so many passions and capable now of such steadfast wisdom, has but one thought and one wish.

The great drama which the Parisian is witnessing fills his vision. The Marne, the Yser, Verdun—these are what he thinks about. He feels himself struck with the combatants, he suffers, rushes forward, with them. He hears the noise of the conflict. Those peoples are superior whose souls are composed and whose intelligence is heightened by danger.

Those who regard Paris as a Babylon *en fête* shoot wide of the mark. They have not made a tour of the city—that is, they have not visited the suburbs. They have not seen the Paris workman in his workshop or in a factory—ingenious, enduring, productive. They have not come in contact with that laborious section of the people, who, in their regular, simple lives conserve the probity of the home. Nor do they know how studious are the eager youths of the schools, how passionately they absorb the teachings of their masters.

That city of luxury is a city teeming with labor. The war having dispersed the idle and outsiders, one could see at once its fundamental morality, maintained through the centuries by the tradition of work.

He who labors faithfully finds a rule of life in the exercise of his calling. He learns to eliminate distraction which is harmful to his work. He purifies his heart by activity.

We cannot doubt that it is this daily duty which was the moral guide of the Parisian workman, and when war closes the shop he remains a man, practised in courage and ready for every form of sacrifice.



Photograph by Paul Thompson

SENEGALESE TROOPS READY FOR AN ATTACK

THE NEGRO SOLDIER UNDER FIRE IN FRANCE

IN 1916 the Section Sanitaire Americain No. 3, while serving in France with the French army, had an opportunity to observe the behavior of French Senegalese troops. Mr. Hugh Brown, who was attached to the organization at that time, and who has also been at the front in northern Greece and in Serbia, writes in the *Southern Workman* (Hampton Institute) concerning the conduct of the Senegalese on at least one occasion when they won the admiration of all who saw the action.

A regiment of Senegalese had been ordered to advance along a road commanded by German batteries which kept up a continuous and terrific fire. The wounded, who were able to walk, had to be conducted over the same fire-swept thoroughfare. There were more than three hundred of them. The hospital corps in charge of these wounded finally reached a building, only to find it occupied by two companies of effective troops. Since it is customary to give effectives precedence over wounded men in cases of this kind, the hospital corps was about to continue on its way when an officer of the Senegalese offered to move out his men and leave

the shelter for the wounded. What followed is thus narrated by Mr. Brown, writing as one who has been in contact with troops of various nationalities:

Shells were now coming in every minute. To stay out in the open was almost certain death. The Senegalese knew it, the officer knew it, our wounded knew it. An order given, the effective troops began to move out of their shelter. A shell dropped near to some of them, literally tearing them to pieces. There was no word of protest, no excitement, no panic. The troops moved as if in a trance. They were giving up their safety for wounded. That was enough!

"Allons! Allons!" came the cry, and with a rush these black men in long, darting lines went up the road. Many were wounded before they got far, but the rest kept on, going to what seemed almost certain death. Our wounded took their places. Some had been seriously hit and could no longer walk. Others were lying, though alive, in the open. Volunteers were asked for to get them in. Those who were only slightly wounded offered their services. We had only half finished our task, when a detachment of twenty Senegalese troops under their native officer returned to give us aid. Everybody was got under shelter, and when the black troops came to say "Good-bye," a little muffled cheer broke out. No cooler, no better, more efficient workers had ever been seen. In every case they showed control, although under the most terrific strain.

The Senegalese, it seems, have won a reputation as fighters in France:

They are excellent with the bayonet and stand the strain in the trenches even better than some of the white troops. It is particularly significant that the Senegalese Negroes were used to aid in the retaking of Douaumont; it is an excellent compliment to their ability. In glancing over the art posters of the war and the literature of the last year, one finds any number of references to the

soldats noirs of France. They have made a name for themselves.

Not only are the Senegalese troops brave and efficient, but they have the physical strength which enables them to undergo constant fighting with but little food and rest. They have more than once formed the backbone of France's fighting force. They have fought in the battles of Champagne, Soissons and Verdun in France. They were in the expedition at the Dardanelles and afterward in Northern Greece and Serbia. They have been worthy of the French.

REINDEER MEAT: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE NATION'S FOOD SUPPLY

THERE is an Eskimo tradition in regard to the difficulty of getting near enough to reindeer to kill them. It relates that many ages ago the reindeer had very large eyes of extraordinary range of vision which prevented man from approaching them without their taking alarm. Once when there was great suffering in the Northland on account of the scarcity of meat, the Eskimo prayed the Great Spirit to take pity on them and change the eyes of the reindeer. The Great Spirit heard their prayers and made the eyes of the reindeer small so that the Eskimo hunters could approach near enough to spear them for food.

Undoubtedly in ancient times the reindeer or caribou was one of the principal sources of food for mankind. Mr. John Curtis Underwood wrote in "An Empire In the Making," published in 1913, that the "day was in measurable distance when the big reindeer ship from Arctic and sub-Arctic Alaska would roll into Seattle and other Western cities as the big cattle trains roll into Chicago."

At the present time, Secretary Lane reports that reindeer meat could be and should be made a very valuable part of the nation's meat supply.

The history of the United States' experiment in breeding reindeer in Alaska begins properly speaking with the shocking death-rate of the natives of the Alaskan Islands covering a period of several years, because of lack of food. The wild supply had vanished, the seals were driven farther north, the native reindeer slaughtered with modern firearms. Dr. Sheldon Jackson, Presbyterian missionary to Alaska, found in 1890, that whole villages on the points of the coast of the Arctic ocean, Bering Sea, and on the islands had been literally wiped out by star-

vation. Captain M. A. Healy of the United States Revenue Cutter *Bear*, suggested to the Government, that it would be highly advisable to introduce reindeer cultivation. This suggestion was followed by the urgent appeal of Dr. Jackson, and Lieutenant E. P. Bertholf was sent to Russia where he purchased a number of reindeer which were sent across Bering Strait into Alaska.

The REVIEW OF REVIEWS for May, 1903, reprinted from the *National Geographic Magazine* an account of the experiment:

Twelve years ago (1901) Dr. Sheldon Jackson brought his first herd of sixteen reindeer across Bering Strait from Siberia and started his colony at Unalaska, off the bleak coast of Alaska. Many then smiled at the experiment and declared his plans for stocking the great barrens of North-western Alaska with thousands of animals, which for centuries had been indispensable to natives of Lapland and Siberia, was impracticable and wasteful of time and good money. But the experiment prospered from the very first. Other reindeer, numbering nearly 1,000 in all, were brought over from Siberia. To-day (1903) there are nearly 6,000 head in the various herds distributed along the coast from Point Barrow to Bethel.

The Catholic World, August, 1917, contained an article by Clio Mamer pertinent to the present food situation: "Alaska's Prospective Contribution to Our Food Supply." The author writes in regard to the launching of the reindeer industry:

About 1,200 of these animals were brought from Russia between the years of 1902 and 1906, and the reindeer industry, which has since proved the salvation of countless Alaskan Indians and Eskimo, was launched by the Government at a cost of about \$225,000. With this small beginning Congress had to be content, as Russia firmly refused to part with any more deer at any price.

It is the writer's conviction that it is our patriotic duty to assist the Government in



GROUP OF PEARY CARIBOU ("RANGIFER PEARYI"), ARRANGED BY "FROZEN TAXIDERMY" AND PHOTOGRAPHED BY FLASHLIGHT

developing its latent resources and that the possibility of increasing our meat supply with reindeer venison should not be overlooked.

Alaska has tremendous possibilities, and this far-away territory of ours, which we purchased from Russia at the unheard-of price of two cents an acre, has done nobly under American rule and is entitled to all the aid and encouragement we can give her. Now that she is producing a supply of venison in excess of that required to feed her meagre population, it behooves us to assist her in disposing of her surplus, and thus encourage her to make this comparatively new industry yield maximum results.

Last winter marked the entrance of the reindeer upon the scene as a possible economic factor in the great World War. The Swedish Government sold to German agents, and gave to them the requisite permission to ship to Germany, 43,500 carcasses of reindeer, which, it was estimated, provided 3,480 tons of venison for the German soldiers. . . . These same reindeer, which our enemy was so glad to purchase in order to augment a rapidly decreasing meat supply, were, in all probability, closely related to the reindeer which are raised in Alaska.

It would seem that the reindeer industry ought to appeal to Alaskan agriculturists and to young men fresh from agricultural institutions. Until 1914, the Government confined the industry to the natives and Laplanders in Alaska, but now these people are

permitted to sell their surplus deer to white men.

Reindeer can be raised for the market much more cheaply than cattle, for they find their feed both in winter and in summer, and they can live on the barren wastes which would support no other kind of animal.

Robert E. Peary wrote in regard to the ability of the reindeer to forage under desperate weather conditions:

I am often asked how the herbivorous animals, like the musk-ox and the reindeer, survive the winter in the snow-covered lands. By a strange paradox, the wild winds that rage in that country help them in their struggle for existence, for the wind sweeps the dried grasses and scattered creeping willows bare of snow over great stretches of land, and there the animals can graze.

A fawn during the first four years costs the owner less than \$1 a year. At the end of four years it will bring from \$50 to \$100 for its meat at the mines in Alaska. The German Government paid an average of 28 cents a pound for the Swedish reindeer venison. It is easy to keep from spoiling, pleasant to the taste, as nutritious as beef or mutton. With the completion of the Alaskan Railroad this source of meat supply should be developed.

WEATHER HAZARDS IN AVIATION

THE time is near at hand when aeronautical meteorology will be one of the most assiduously cultivated branches of science. In the middle of the last century mariners all over the world were supplying the American hydrographer, Maury, with the data that enabled him to place maritime meteorology upon a firm footing—an enterprise that meant the saving of millions of dollars in shortened sailing routes. At the same time, the development of the law of storms was responsible for the saving of thousands of lives at sea. Within the next generation

or may not be wholly justified. For example, the author disposes quite comfortably of the notorious dangers and obstacles which the weather opposes to flying. It is interesting to compare with his remarks under this head those of the veteran English meteorologist and aerologist, W. H. Dines, published in *Nature* (London). Mr. Dines says:

I do not wish to emphasize the difficulties which lie in the way of regular air services, but they are there, and the first step toward overcoming them is to recognize them.



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FRANCE'S PREMIER AVIATOR CLIMBING THE CLOUDS

(Captain Guynemer is the daring pilot of this machine. He is on duty guarding the observation biplanes from German airmen. The photograph was taken from one of the planes, part of the wing showing in the picture. Note the peculiar cloud effects. Shortly after this picture was made a German machine made appearance and a lively battle followed. Within a few minutes Guynemer sent his opponent crashing to earth from that great height—10,000 feet. This is considered to be one of the most remarkable aerial photographs ever taken. It shows the aeroplane with droning motor pushing its way upward through the cloud bank, 10,000 feet above the earth.)

we shall doubtless witness analogous and even greater achievements in the study of the air with a view to the practical necessities of the aeronaut.

Last month we published a brief abstract of Mr. Holt Thomas' address before the Aeronautical Society of Great Britain on "Commercial Aeronautics." The original is the most important document that has yet appeared on the subject of utilizing the world's immense resources in aircraft and aeronautical talent after the war, but it is marked by an exuberant optimism that may

The author reviews the services which the British Meteorological Office has rendered to shipping since the days of Admiral Fitzroy, in issuing storm warnings at the various ports and signal stations, and points out that the general adoption of steam and the increased size of vessels have made the mariner less dependent upon the weather than formerly.

The case is likely to be different with aeroplanes if they are to take the place of mail steamers, and a heavy responsibility will be thrown upon the Meteorological Office or upon whatever body undertakes to issue forecasts for their guidance.

Too much wind, low clouds and fog are the kinds of weather most inimical to flying, and of these fog is probably the worst.

The ways in which wind affects an aeroplane are various. There is the difficulty of starting and landing, but the days on which this is serious are not numerous, even in a windy country like England. But still there are days when landing is unsafe, and it is the misfortune with an aeroplane that it must in some way or other come to the earth as soon as its stock of petrol is exhausted. It cannot, like a ship outside a port, with a dangerous bar, wait until conditions are more favorable; it must come down, whatever the risk. Once in the air, a steady wind has no effect upon the flying of an aeroplane, although it has a great effect upon the direction of its course. . . . The pilot, if the earth is hidden from him by a sheet of clouds, is absolutely and entirely ignorant of the strength and direction of the wind in which he

is flying; it is just the same to him if it be a dead calm or if it be blowing at the rate of a hundred miles an hour from the east or from the west.

Thus Glasgow lies very close to a point 400 miles due north of Plymouth, and an aeroplane leaving Plymouth and flying due north at eighty miles an hour would find itself close to Glasgow in five hours' time. Should, however, a strong west wind be blowing of which the pilot did not know, and also clouds so that he could not see the earth, he would, if steering by compass, find himself in five hours' time over the North Sea, and quite possibly much nearer to the Danish than to the English coast.

Hence long-distance flying in countries where clouds are as prevalent as in England will, if the flyer must keep to a regular schedule instead of choosing his time, be carried on very commonly at low levels, and the disadvantage of this is that the lower winds are more likely to be gusty and irregular than the winds of high levels.

Clouds introduce a difficulty of their own, apart from the point that has already been considered. It would seem at first sight as though a man would retain his sense of the vertical direction in any circumstances, but this is not so. Were a man placed inside a hollow vessel that was falling freely without air resistance, he would be entirely without sense of weight or direction, and

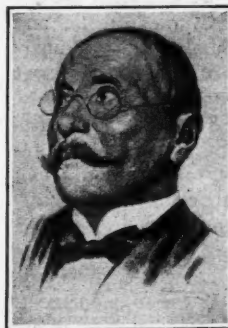
the pilot of an aeroplane in an extensive mass of cloud is in much the same position. He cannot see any definite object, and, apart from sight, his sense of direction depends upon the reaction between him and the seat he is sitting on. So long as the motion is uniform this reaction is vertical, but an acceleration of the machine alters the direction and intensity of the reaction and so confuses the sense of level. The same effect is produced upon a spirit-level or similar instrument, and so confusing is the effect that it is said the machine may almost be upside down without the pilot knowing it. It would seem as though a gyroscope might to some extent meet the difficulty. One result of this uncertainty of level is that astronomical observations for the determination of latitude and longitude are not possible unless the horizon can be seen, and thus the amount of the error produced by want of knowledge of the drift cannot be known.

Fog, which conceals the landing place and hides from the pilot until the last moment his distance from the ground, is the greatest hazard of all. The author does not comment on Mr. Holt Thomas' ingenious proposal to meet this difficulty by means of a sort of aerial buoys, *i. e.*, small kite-balloons sent up above the fog, to indicate the location of landing-places. The same writer suggests the use of smoke signals and, at night, penetrating searchlights.

A GREAT ARGENTINE POET, ALMAFUERTE

A RECENT dispatch from Buenos Aires brought the news of the death of the distinguished poet Alfafuerte. Though long famous throughout South America, he was little known abroad before the present war, which gave occasion to his widely known poem, "Apostrophe," a virulent satire upon the German Kaiser which has been translated into many tongues. Together with Carlos Madarriaga, Francisco Barroetavena, and Manuel Lainez, the director of the great daily *El Diario*, Alfafuerte valiantly supported the cause of the Allies. It is to these men that much of the credit is due for the Argentine pro-Ally attitude, despite a furious pro-German propaganda. Writing in *La Nouvelle Revue* (Paris), Georges Lafond says:

The enthusiastic and impulsive Neo-Latin masses demand the sonorous word and the evocative image. Alfafuerte, a poet imbued with a sense of his high mission—like the ancient *vates*—acclaimed heroism and martyrdom, sang the



ALMAFUERTE, THE ARGENTINE POET

love of the valiant, flayed the invader, and rallied the wavering crowd to the cause of right. No task could have better suited his temperament or his aspirations. None knew better how to plead the defense of these two sources of Latinity than this exasperated Latin who found in the very depths of his race the fundamental influence of the triple tradition of Castilian honor.

"*Evangelique*" and "*Apostrophe*," his two latest works, have all the magnificent nuances of the purest romanticism. His lyric music of phrase, his complex sentiments, his violent passions, his optimistic melancholy, his Sibylline attitudes, his bold images, his quest for verbal rhythm, Alfafuerte received from Hugo, from Gautier, from Lamartine, and from Banville also. He was one of the romantics in the full force of the term. And how could he be otherwise? Was

not everything in the young democracy through the rapid and turbulent stages of whose development he had lived propitious to such a formation of his talent—the struggles for independence, the political struggles against the dictatorship of *caudillos*, the prodigious epic of voluntary warfare, the legitimate pride in national glory?

Romanticism in Almafuerte is not a peculiar

form of thought; it is the mainspring of his whole life, as lyric as his verses, as the life of his country, breaking away from a banal obscurity to rush towards the light of freedom along a road beset by struggle, rebellion, and anarchy. And thus the only accent of his poetry is the elevation of the noble, the execration of that which is vile, the scourging of vice and of social inertia.

JOSÉ ENRIQUE RODÓ: URUGUAY'S MOST EMINENT WRITER

ONE of the most enthusiastic promoters of the "American spirit," using the word in its larger sense as pertaining to the two Americas, is the distinguished South American litterateur, José Enrique Rodó, of Uruguay. In a warmly appreciative sketch of him which appeared in *l'Information Universelle* (Paris)



JOSÉ ENRIQUE RODÓ

for May 26, he is acclaimed as being incontestably one of the most eminent personalities in "American letters," counting numberless disciples from the Antilles to Tierra del Fuego and accounted even in Spain by such writers as Valera y Claria, Rueda, and

Altamira to have a genius for prose comparable with that of Ruben Dario as a poet among Uro-American intellectuals.

He was born on July 15, 1872, at Montevideo and began his literary career by founding the *National Review of Literature and Social Sciences* in collaboration with Martínez Vigil and Victor Perez Petit, a journal which has met with considerable success not only in Uruguay but in various other countries of the American Continent. The present writer thus sketches his career:

Later he was attracted by politics. He was elected a deputy to the National Parliament and on various occasions presented notable motions and projects, such, for instance, as that of "Labor Legislation in Uruguay," which had hardly been propounded when it attracted the attention of sociologists and jurisconsults in both the Americas and in Spain. He subsequently deserted politics, abandoning more than one illusion. Perhaps he was thinking of himself when, in writing the life of Montalvo, the first equatorial statesman, some years later, he said: "He was a Liberal

to the farthest bounds of nobility of sentiment, but never a demagogue or a plebeian. In the quality of his ideas, the temper of his soul, and the distinction of his style he was a *chevalier* from head to foot."

Though he had no taste for public speaking, he nevertheless delivered addresses on various occasions, which were unanimously regarded as admirable. It is even affirmed that he owed his greatest triumph to the one he gave at a solemn session of the Chilean Parliament in December, 1910.

He owes his fame far more to the quality, the superiority of his genius than to the fecundity of his talent. His works, which are few in number, are known all over the American continent; some of them have merited the honor of official editions . . . in Central America and in Spain.

Rodó's chief works are *La Vita Nueva*, 1897; *Ruben Dario*, 1899; *Ariel*, 1900; *Liberalismo et Jacobinismo*, 1906; *Motivo de Proteo*, 1909; and *El Mirador de Prospero*, 1913. They are said to be animated by a common inspiration—the formation of an American consciousness, an American ideal, an American intellectuality. In a recent interview with an Argentine journalist he made use of the following words:

We desire a literature which shall be a positive force for the formation of an American consciousness; which, having this sentiment for its motive power, embraces all the complexity of the moral and intellectual elements of our culture—and, so far as concerns myself, I have pursued this ideal of Americanism since the days of my earliest endeavors.

It is this ideal, according to the author of the present article, which inspired *Ariel* and which has been Rodó's guide in his biographical studies of Bolívar, Montalvo, and Juan Maria Gutierrez, studies which he intends to supplement by others dealing likewise with personages of equal significance from the American point of view.

Rodó has said in speaking of Montalvo: "He brings to the vocation of literature all the fervor, the perseverance, the respect, and the zeal of a priest." This judgment fits himself to a marvel.

A REUNITED, INDEPENDENT POLAND

RUSSIA'S declaration for an independent and united Poland has been enthusiastically endorsed by France, Italy and Great Britain. However, the promises of the Provisional Government of New Russia are held by many to be as vague as those of the old Russian régime; for example a delegation of Lithuanian separatists was assured that autonomy would be granted to the Lithuania at present within the limits of the Russian state as well as to the part that to-day belongs to Prussia, and that this autonomous Lithuania would remain a component part of Russia. Yet the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania is a part of the territory seized in the 18th century from Poland; it was part of the former Polish Republic. Such a promise to a Lithuanian faction, as well as the probably still unchanged old Russian aim to withhold the large Ruthenian population from reunion with the reconstructed Polish state,—moves the most famous Polish philosopher of the present day, Prof. Vincent Lutoslawski, to ask in an article written for the Polish *Dziennik Zwiaskowy*, of Chicago: "Are we to trust the Russian Liberals and Socialists more than the Holstein-Gottorp family?"

It is true [says Professor Lutoslawski] that the new Russian Government at once promised us independence, but only in the ethnographical limits, giving us only the minute part of the territories stolen from us in which the majority of the population speaks Polish. For us the political union of Lithuania and the Ruthenian territories¹ with Poland is a condition of our independent being, and any independence limiting our possessions to territories ethnographically Polish will be fictitious.

Consequently, the Muscovite government, in offering us such a fictitious independence is delivering us into the hands of the Germans. We cannot accept such a present as constitutes a covert sale of us into the worst slavery. If the Muscovites are abjuring their czars, then let them restore to us what the czars seized from us. This is demanded by historical justice and by the security of the new Muscovite state. For, if ethnographical Poland shall fall under Prussian dominion, which menaces us inevitably; if there shall not hold the union of the three peoples that was formed five hundred years ago—the German influence will still more easily reach the Ruthenian territories and Lithuania, and having mastered these borders of Poland it will overpower Muscovy also.

Poland united with Lithuania and the Ruthenian territories will be able to defend herself from the German influence and to guard Muscovy also. This rôle ethnographical Poland alone will not be able to perform,—for if five centuries ago she was too weak alone and needed the union for defense against the Teutonic Knights of that time, the union is still more indispensable to-day, when the descendants of these Teutonic Knights dominate the whole German nation.

The regarding of the Ruthenian territories [Black, White, Little, and Red Russia] as Muscovite land is based upon a falsifying of history and ethnography. Historically, the Ruthenian territories have been united with Poland for 500 years, and even in the time of Boleslaus the Valiant [992-1025]—when there still was no Muscovite state—the Russians were already attached to Poland. Ethnographically, the Ruthenians are far nearer to the Poles than to the Muscovites, as they belong to the Aryan race and are Slavonians, whereas, among the Muscovites there preponderates the Turanian descent. The Little Russian tongue approaches so near to the Polish that every Pole after a short abode in Little Russia is able to understand everything the people say. A hundred and fifty years of the dominion of the Muscovites could not obliterate the traces of the centuries-long communion of the Russians and Poland, which was confirmed by the participation of the Ruthenians in the last Polish Revolution, in 1863. But, even though there were not these historical and ethnographical considerations; even though the Ruthenians were entirely foreign to Poland—the very fact of their situation together with the Poles and Lithuanians between two so rapacious peoples as the Muscovites and Prussians, would compel them to a close alliance with the non-rapacious neighbors. In Poland the Lithuanians and Ruthenians always had such freedom as no people in the Muscovite state has possessed.

We cannot delude ourselves by the fancy that the imprisonment of the Czar, or be it even his condemnation to death, will suddenly change everything in the state of the czars, says Professor Lutoslawski. The ministers and governors will be changed, but how can there be found the thousands of officials that have become accustomed through their entire life to arbitrary abuses and bribes? Not one czar nor even a series of czars produced the character of the Muscovite people, but, on the contrary, this slavish character of the people produced the czars,—and in place of the dethroned Nicholas there will make their appearance in every county minor, yet no less autocratic czars.

¹Black Russia (governments of Grodno and Minsk), White Russia (governments of Mohilew and Witebsk), Little Russia (governments of Kiev, Czernichow, Poltawa, and Charkow), and Red Russia (Galicia, which is under Austrian dominion).

Amongst us [continues this Polish writer] the centuries-old tradition had educated series of generations in entirely different conditions. Later, the century and a half of terrible persecution roused a yearning to liberty and justice so strong as the Muscovite people does not know. In this school of life we have kept company with the Lithuanians and Ruthenians. Lithuania had her Muraviev, the Ruthenian territories their Bibikov, just as Warsaw had her Hurko and Aputchtin. It was not allowed to write and to speak not only in Polish, but also in Lithuanian and Little Russian. These prohibitions will be abolished—but the spirit that excited them, will not let itself be so easily transformed. Not long ago yet a well-known Russian Liberal said to a Polish magnate living in Paris: "Haggle and get for yourselves what you can from the Czar, you Poles; for, we, when we shall come to power, shall give you nothing!"

If nations of old civilization, like the Western Allies, indicate an extraordinary selfishness in the cause of our national being, it is not strange that we cannot hope for more from the Muscovites, who after centuries of slavery will not soon yet be in a condition to comprehend and appreciate true freedom. Let us, then, not rely on their promises, which, for the rest, are entirely unsatisfactory; but let us demand that there should first of all be restored to us all that has been seized from us since 1772, if the partitions of Poland were a crime of the same kind as the invasion of Belgium or the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

If in the reconstructed Polish Republic

the Ruthenians and Lithuanians shall decide to claim their independence, the Poles, assures Professor Lutoslawski, will not oppose them with force. However, in the absence of such a verdict, "the Poles must be bound by the union that was formed 500 years ago and that was profitable to all the participants." In concluding his article, therefore, he maintains:

It is not our business to withdraw from the union, nor can we regard as qualified the voices of sundry wranglers, that are spreading in foreign countries hate to Poland grounded on an ignorance of history. Qualified only will be the voice of the representatives of the Ruthenian and Lithuanian peoples elected under the protection of the free Republic—and these will themselves understand that neither Poland without the Ruthenian territories and Lithuania, nor Lithuania and the Ruthenian territories without Poland will gain and hold true liberty. Therefore, we cannot to-day agree to the cutting out of the frontiers of Poland according to the ethnographical conditions. We must demand historical justice and satisfaction for the outrage of the partitions, which were as infamous as the other German outrages. The Russian revolution does not by any means alone decide the Polish cause, because the Polish cause is not an internal cause of Russia. This revolution merely gives us a larger liberty to speak and write to claim what is just and consistent with the conscience of regenerating humanity.

NEW MACHINE FOR TRITURATING SOIL

THE Chinese are past masters in the art of intensive cultivation of the earth, and their empirical observations long ago taught them that an excellent method of increasing the yield of crops is to pulverize the soil, even making use, for this purpose of man's most ancient tool, the human hand.

It remained for Occidental scientists to discover the chief reason for this increased yield, which resides in the superior nitrification of finely divided earth. Thus the experiments of Dehérain and Schloesing proved that a cubic meter of earth finely trituated will produce 2.88 kilograms of nitrate, whereas if not broken up it will yield only 25 grams.

The difference this makes in crops is rendered evident, according to a recent writer in the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Lausanne), by a comparison between the crops on the ordinary French farm and those in certain regions of China where the laborious pulverization of the earth referred to above is

practiced—namely, 12 quintals per hectare [1100 pounds per acre] in France and as high as tenfold that amount on some Chinese farms. Obviously, however, neither Europe nor America possesses the cheap labor which makes this possible in the patient Orient. Hence the world will welcome the news of an agricultural machine for soil trituration invented by Mr. Xavier Charmes, a member of the Academy, but also a landowner with a keen interest in agricultural matters. This machine is described as consisting of an automatic plow provided with a series of knives mounted on a rotating disc. It is stated that this system of revolving knives not only cuts up the soil but crumbles it to powder while leaving the surface perfectly level. The instrument has already been put to use in Tunisia and is expected to render valuable service in Europe also. It is hoped that by its employ the New Zealand yield of 20 quintals per hectare may at least be equaled or surpassed.

ITALIAN SUPPORT OF PRESIDENT WILSON'S POSITION

AN appreciative estimate of the sentiments that moved President Wilson to favor the entry of the United States into the arena of war is presented by Signor Ezio Flori in *Rivista d'Italia*.

The President's declaration of war against Germany was due to the fact that the latter, by violating the liberty of the seas, had revealed herself as the enemy of humanity, as the enemy of all nations. He will carry on the war with a calm and unshaken conscience until those directly responsible for the violation shall have been eliminated, without asking anything for the United States, neither indemnity nor recompense, satisfied with having vindicated those human rights which he champions.

The history of England shows us a somewhat similar state of things. When that country has been drawn into a European war, its enemies have been the enemies of Europe as a whole, not of England alone; Spain in the sixteenth century, then Napoleon I, and now Germany.

The writer sees in President Wilson the perfect type of a democratic mentality. The primal factors of his policy are a profound humanitarian idealism and a lively consciousness of America's mission in the world; and since these must be based upon a universally recognized principle of law and a dominant conception of justice, the defense of this law and of this justice is equivalent to the national defense.

For this reason President Wilson long hesitated between resisting the Teutonic aggressions and his own repugnance to war. He waited until the national motive should coincide with the universal motive, at first exhausting all the pacific methods imposed by his conscience and his convictions.

His patience under the great provocation of the terrible *Lusitania* disaster enabled him to induce Germany to give to the United States the well-known guarantees regarding the liberty of neutral commerce and navigation, and it was not until these guarantees were repudiated by the note of January 31, 1917, proclaiming the ruthless intensification of submarine warfare, that the United States declared the existence of a state of war with Germany. In the meanwhile the President had been able to feel the pulse of the people, as the saying goes.

In Germany's refusal to recognize the rights of neutrals to self-defense, President Wilson saw not only a violation of human liberty, but an attempt at exploitation and enslavement. The temporary violation of the rights of third parties, strangers to a conflict, might be explained, if not justified, by contingencies of an equally temporary kind, by unforeseen conditions resulting from the state of war, destined to pass.

To prohibit the self-defense of neutrals, on the contrary, indicated an intention to destroy every activity that was not in accord with Germany's aims. It was a hegemony imposed upon those outside of the conflict. The President, in his pursuit of humane and pacific aims did not swerve from his course, even though instead of leading to an immediate peace it provoked a more violent outburst of war. "Look to the end!" only after the elimination of the enemy of the human race can peace spread her wings over humanity!

The distinction established by the President between the German government and the German people has its roots in his ideal moral philosophy, and is at the same time in touch with one of the leading postulates of his political theory. Hence Signor Flori realizes that we cannot fail to accept his declaration that he feels neither hatred nor resentment against the enemy people, that, on the contrary, he has both sympathy and friendship for it. He does not hold the German nation responsible for the war; the government declared it without even consulting the people.

In this, however, the Italian writer thinks that he has failed to grasp the very essence and hence the significance of what is and remains the primal factor of the German war; namely, the national consciousness of the German people, a consciousness that is not a superficial, collective, and irrepressible sentiment, but a highly individualized consciousness, whose power and efficiency is multiplied by the common consent of the race. The barbarity shown in the systematic devastation accomplished in France, the machinations of spies in the United States, the complete preparation for war on the part of all Germans, wherever they might be, constitute the most eloquent proof of this.

WAR FINANCE: AN ITALIAN VIEW-POINT

THE relative merits and demerits of the three principal methods for raising the immense additional revenue required by the exigencies of modern warfare are discussed in *La Nuova Rassegna* (Rome), by Giulio Alessio, vice-president of the Italian Chamber of Deputies.

Of the three courses open to a nation, the emission of paper money, the raising of loans, or increased taxation, the writer recognizes that the first-named is by far the most pernicious and the most dangerous; hence it is generally admitted that the choice lies between the other two. Here, however, no hard-and-fast rule can well be laid down, for the preference to be accorded to the one or the other method depends upon the economic structure of the individual state, and under the crushing burdens imposed by the present conflict, both must necessarily be employed.

As rich a country as Great Britain was able to finance her wars from 1853 to 1900 by taxation alone, especially by her income tax, but the cost of the Boer War, small as it was when compared with the war costs of to-day, required the raising of considerable loans.

The question as to whether war expenses should or could be covered by increased taxation alone has been much debated of late. It has been urged that higher taxes are really more equitable and less oppressive than large loans, the theory being that the latter drain the savings of the nation and tend to raise the rate of interest, this in time causing higher prices for commodities. Moreover, the sums expended by the state out of the proceeds of the loans are not evenly distributed among the different classes of citizens, but go to those interested in certain special industries. Therefore, while the larger part of the population suffers from the enhanced prices for necessities, a minority enjoy wages or profits high enough to offset all added expenses.

Within this sphere, however, the conditions are stable enough. If the money for the loans is derived from the savings of those who earn high wages, as well as from the bank credits of industrial enterprises whose profits have been greatly increased, and, as

must normally result, the amounts realized by the state are soon expended and find their way back to the favored class of wage-earners and industrial enterprises, then the process could go on almost indefinitely.

It is easy enough to insist on the apparent inequity of a financial policy based on loans, but this is the only one capable of attaining a definite and satisfactory result. In the present state of public opinion, however much greater may appear to be the sacrifice made by the combatant at the front, when compared with the highly recompensed aid given by the lender of funds to the national treasury, it is nevertheless impossible to secure the large sums of money imperatively needed for war expenses by having recourse solely to intensive taxation. Investors must be attracted by the prospect of eventual restitution, and by the reward of a rate of interest higher than the current one.

In pursuing a different policy, one founded in the idea of forcing unwilling contributions, the desired effects would not be attained, either in the industrial or in the financial field. If, for example, a very large share of industrial profits was taken by taxation, the development of the industries would be checked, and the efforts of the workers, threatened with a curtailment of wages, would be relaxed. The writer is ready to admit that in richer countries than Italy an intensive taxation can be more easily and willingly borne.

In conclusion, Signor Alessio insists upon the urgent necessity of revising the system of taxation on agricultural lands in Italy. Here, a fixed rate based upon an average of returns in past years, has been maintained, so that the national treasury does not benefit by the larger production realized by improved methods of cultivation. This is of quite exceptional importance in a land where three-quarters of the national income is derived from the land. A reform in this direction and a wider application of the income tax, which has proved such a potent lever in the hands of the British and German financiers, would do much to relieve the undue pressure exerted by loans derived from the savings of labor and from accumulated capital.

THE NEW BOOKS

WORKS RELATING TO THE WAR

America's Case Against Germany. By Lindsay Rogers. Dutton. 264 pp. \$1.50.

A good, brief account of the origin and development of the controversy which became the immediate cause of war between the United States and Germany. The author furnishes in this book a chronological record of the Wilson policy. His method is narrative and explanatory, not critical or defensive, since he believes that it is still too early to pass definite judgment. Professor Rogers treats the points of international law involved, briefly and untechnically, particularly with regard to the submarine as a new weapon, the status of armed merchant ships, the problem of munition exports, and the difference between the English and the German "blockade."

The Peril of Prussianism. By Douglas Wilson Johnson. Putnam's. 53 pp. 75c.

A brief discussion of the opposing ideals of government represented, respectively, by the United States and Prussianized Germany.

The British Navy at War. By W. MacNeile Dixon. Houghton Mifflin Co. 90 pp. 75c.

An account of what has actually been accomplished by the British Navy since the war broke out in 1914. It includes a full and graphic description of the Jutland battle and of other important engagements of the war.

War Food. By Amy L. Handy. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 76 pp. 75c.

As a measure for conserving our food supply in war time, the extensive circulation of this little book would be highly desirable. It gives practical and economical methods of keeping vegetables, fruits, and meats. If every housewife could carry out its suggestions, even to a limited extent, the efforts of the Federal food administration under Mr. Hoover would be greatly facilitated.

The Rebirth of Russia. By Isaac F. Marcossion. John Lane Company. 208 pp. \$1.25.

Mr. Marcossion was one of the first to reach Petrograd after the revolution of last March. The present volume is a journalist's statement of what was to be seen and learned by a keen American reporter during the early weeks that followed the great outbreak in the Russian capital. He heard the story of the revolution from the lips of the leaders themselves—Kerensky, Lvoff, Milyukoff, and others.

Gems (?) of German Thought. By William Archer. Doubleday, Page. 264 pp. \$1.25.

The wrapper of this anthology of German scriptures is fittingly decorated with a Prussian angel in full military uniform, steel helmet, boots

and spurs, plus wings and a quill and scroll wherein to write the names of all who love Junkerdom. Within the covers are snatches from the chorus of German egoism, self-laudation and majestic contempt for all that is not German that has filled the ears of the world since the beginning of the war. The quotations are divided into six sections: "Deutschland Ueber Alles," "German Ambitions," "War-worship," "Ruthlessness," "Machiavellism," and "England, France and Belgium—especially England." Many choice selections are from Germany's three major prophets—Nietzsche, the prophet of ruthlessness; Bernhardt, of ambition, and Treitschke, of tribalism. The things that most impressed Mr. Archer were the spiritual aridity of modern German thought, and the shocking interpretations of Christianity appearing in the sermons of the German clergy.

Carry On: Letters in War Time. By Lieutenant Coningsby Dawson. John Lane Company. \$1.00.

Victor Chapman's Letters from France. With memoir by John Jay Chapman. Macmillan Company. 196 pp. \$1.25.

One Young Man. Edited by J. E. Hodder Williams. Doran. 156 pp. 75c.

It is in the letters to the people back home that we get the most interesting glimpses into the soldier's real life at the front. Many such volumes of personal revelations of warfare penned on the battlefield in the intervals of action have already been published in book form. Among the most interesting may be mentioned the inspiring messages of Lieutenant Coningsby Dawson, author of "The Garden Without Walls" and other books; the letters of Victor Chapman, member of the Foreign Legion and later a brilliant and knightly aviator in the Lafayette Escadrille; and the simple story of "One Young Man," a modest English clerk, who obeyed the impulse in 1914 and served for nearly two years on the Western front, until wounded at the battle of the Somme.

The Reserve Officers' Handbook. By S. J. Sutherland. Houghton, Mifflin. 289 pp. \$1.25.

Another handy volume for those ambitious for a commission in Uncle Sam's armies is "The Reserve Officers' Handbook," by Captain S. J. Sutherland, which covers in a clear and concise way infantry drill regulations, administration, small arms firing, field service regulations, topography, military law, and other miscellaneous topics.

Soldiers' Spoken French. By Helene Cross. Dutton. 128 pp. 60 cents.

A simple, concentrated, short-cut to the French language, compiled from a real course of spoken lessons as given by the author to New Zealand's soldiers. It is pocket size, light, and has water-proof binding.

Trench Warfare. By J. S. Smith. Dutton. 144 pp. \$1.50.

The author of this little book is an American who enlisted with the Canadian troops early in the war and has seen the entire development of trench fighting on the Western front. He is now

a Second Lieutenant with the British Expeditionary Force in Flanders. His manual gives all the technical details of building, holding, and taking trenches. The information contained in this work must sooner or later be mastered by every American officer and private who is to serve in France.

POLITICS, ECONOMICS, SOCIOLOGY

Constitutional Conventions. By Roger Sherman Hoar. Little, Brown. 240 pp. \$2.

The fact that the Constitutional Convention now in session in Massachusetts is not authorized by the existing constitution of that State, and that for this reason it has been denounced by certain citizens of Massachusetts as void and of no effect, gives special pertinence to this discussion of the nature, powers, and limitations of constitutional conventions by one of the ablest members of the Massachusetts bar, a former State Senator and Assistant Attorney-General, and the son of the late United States Senator George F. Hoar. Two years ago, when the New York State Constitutional Convention was in session, many questions arose relating to the convention's powers and the lack of an up-to-date text-book on the subject was felt and expressed. But the New York convention had been authorized by the constitution of the State and the same thing is true of the New Hampshire convention, now pending. In the State of Indiana, however, it has been proposed to hold a convention without the sanction of the constitution, and similar action is likely to be taken, from time to time, by other commonwealths. Mr. Hoar's careful analysis of the various problems arising whenever a revision of a State's fundamental law is undertaken, is applicable in every State, and will, no doubt, be the standard treatise for many years to come.

The State and Government. By Jeremiah S. Young. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 180 pp. 50 cents.

An attempt to clarify the popular understanding of the principles of government, as developed in our own national history. Since the knowledge of government is fundamental, this book is presented as one of the first volumes of the "National Social Science Series," edited by President McVey, of the University of North Dakota.

State Socialism, Pro and Con. Edited by William English Walling and Harry W. Laidler, with a Chapter on Municipal Socialism by Evans Clark. Holt. 649 pp. \$2.

This book offers a striking exhibit of the replacement of private by governmental industry throughout the world, before and during the war. It is wholly based upon official documents and other authoritative sources. The selection of materials was guided by experts. The general topics treated are: finance, agriculture and the conservation of natural resources, transportation and communication, commerce, industry, and mining, while the last six chapters deal with the relation of collectivism to the individual as citizen, consumer,

producer, and taxpayer. The purpose of the editors has been not to formulate a brief for state socialism, but rather to portray the extent of these new governmental activities and to suggest their probable future development. We all know that since the outbreak of the war governments have been doing an increasingly large part of the world's work—operating railroads and mines, nationalizing and distributing the food supply, and controlling many manufacturing industries. We are all curious to know how many of these activities will cease with the war and whether new ones will be added.

Government Partnership in Railroads. By Mark Wymond. Wymond & Cark. 178 pp. \$1.50.

The author's studies of our American transportation problem have led him to the conclusion that the present system of regulating railroads through many independent acting bodies has resulted disastrously to interstate commerce, but since the area of the country is too great for sufficient regulation from Washington alone, he proposes to divide the country into eight sections with boundaries coinciding with those of the present principal traffic territories of the railroads. His suggestion is that the present organization of the Interstate Commerce Commission be expanded by creating eight district commissions of seven members each, the commission at Washington to have supervision over these district commissions to coordinate their work and to prevent discrimination between districts. The make-up of each of these district commissions would be representative of various interests within the district—agricultural, industrial and commercial, railroad labor and railroad administration. One member of each commission would be a lawyer, one an engineer, and another would represent finance.

Equal Opportunity for All. By Frederic E. Kip. Privately printed.

The chief principle for which Mr. Kip contends in this little book is that all railroads and other corporations doing an interstate business should be incorporated and regulated exclusively under Federal laws, instead of the laws of the State in which their headquarters happen to be located.

The County: The "Dark Continent" of American Politics. By H. S. Gilbertson. National Short Ballot Organization. 297 pp. \$2.

Several of Mr. Gilbertson's chapter-headings indicate very clearly the scope of his work—"A Political By-Way," "Just What Is a County," "A Creature of Tradition," "A Base of Political Supplies," "Urban Counties," "County Government

at Work," "Roads and Bridges," "County Home Rule," "Consolidation," "The County of the Future." For several years Mr. Gilbertson has made a special study of county government in the United States. Some of the fruits of this study have already appeared in this REVIEW in the form of a special article by Mr. Gilbertson. There has been no attempt to compile a hand-book or treatise of information on counties, but the problems of county government are clearly outlined and suggestions are made for the improvement of existing conditions—suggestions all the more valuable because they are the outcome of keen observation, tested by appeals to official experience. Since Mr. Gilbertson began the inquiry, something has been done here and there towards untangling the county knot, for example, the work of the Public Efficiency Society of Cook County, Ill., the Westchester Research Bureau of New York, and the Tax Association of Alameda County in California—and the results of this work justify a degree of optimism for the future.

Town-Planning for Small Communities. By Charles S. Bird, Jr. Appleton. 422 pp. \$2.

This is a practical book of suggestions for all who have to do with the planning of new towns or the improving of old ones. It is based on the work already done in Walpole, Mass., and, with modifications to meet local needs, the surveys and proposed organizations for the town of Walpole would be good for any other small place. The illustrations are effective and interesting.

The Emancipation of the American City. By Walter Talmadge Arndt. Duffield. 312 pp. \$1.50.

An argument for home rule for cities and a study in the growth and improvement of municipal government in the United States since James Bryce said, a generation ago, that "the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States." Mr. Arndt discusses the basis of home rule for cities and its advantages, municipal finance, public utilities, administration and civil service, the short ballot, charters, the elimination of parties, the initiative, referendum, and recall. He explains the error in our conception of the character of cities, that they are the corporate agents of States, a conception which naturally arose from the colonial system of charters and royal grants. One would have welcomed a more detailed account of the beginnings of municipal reform in this country, with some comment on the pioneers of the movement. But nevertheless the volume is a succinct analysis of our forms of municipal government and in its revelation of substantial progress an incentive to good citizenship.

Municipal Ownership. By Carl D. Thompson. B. W. Huebsch. 114 pp. \$1.

A brief review of the arguments against private ownership, the failure of regulation, and the advantages of municipal ownership. The writer's conclusion is that "Labor stands to gain by municipal ownership; the consumers or the users of the public utilities stand to gain by mu-

nicipal ownership, and the public stands to gain by municipal ownership. Only those who own and operate the utilities stand to lose—and theirs will be only a temporary loss."

Municipal Functions. By Herman G. James. Appleton. 369 pp. \$2.

An attempt to familiarize the public with the standards of accomplishment by which a city government should be measured. As Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff emphasizes in an introduction to the book, city government touches more points more frequently than any other branch of government. In one respect this work differs from most books of its class. The author approaches the discussion from the standpoint of the smaller community rather than the metropolis.

Municipal Year Book of the City of New York—1916. Prepared under the direction of the Assistant Secretary to the Mayor for distribution by the Municipal Reference Library. 235 pp. 15 cents; 20 cents, postpaid.

All readers who are interested in the details of the government of New York City—and they are by no means confined to New Yorkers—will find this compact, well-edited year-book extremely useful. No other publication of an authoritative character gives this information. Taken in connection with Mr. Gilbertson's survey of the Mitchel administration, in this number of the REVIEW, the year-book answers in the completest possible way such questions as are likely to arise in this campaign year.

Is Civilization a Disease? By Stanton Coit. Houghton, Mifflin. 136 pp. \$1.

A lecture delivered on the Weinstock Foundation of the University of California, which provides for lectures by scholars and men of affairs on various phases of the moral law in its bearing on business under the new economic order. Mr. Coit's study differentiates sharply between civilization proper and that which is often confounded with it, namely, humanism. He finds that the great communists, Fourier, Prudhomme, Robert Owen, and their disciples are agreed that civilization is a disease that preys upon the bodies and the spirits of men. And that with the communists are arrayed all the more radical groups of society. He asks us to seek relief for the living foundations of society that groan, while those who are able to dwell above in freedom bend every effort to muffle the groans and delay the upheaval that periodically arrives. His theory of the war is that it has been largely precipitated by inventions, ideas, discoveries, new social contacts rushing in with unprecedented force and bringing about fear in the minds of the privileged lest they be forced down to a common life of equality and brotherhood. The war therefore becomes a protest against the leveling process. But something better than civilization arrives, a "new social mind." It comes through travail, but it comes, and it is in part the personal realization H. G. Wells has voiced, of our individual responsibility to the Almighty, our transition from citizens to sons of the Ever Living God.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, REMINISCENCE

The Danish West Indies. By Waldemar Westergaard. Macmillan, 359 pp. Ill. \$2.

A brilliant piece of historical writing, particularly significant to students of American history. Dr. Westergaard tells the story of the settlement and administration of the Danish West Indies from 1671 to 1754, and in a supplementary chapter gives briefly their history from the middle of the eighteenth century to 1917, the date of their purchase by the United States. The historical perspective embraces European colonial expansion in the West Indies, covers the great romance of trade in St. John, St. Croix and St. Thomas, dealings with pirates, the growth of agriculture, and the success of the island plantations in the days when "sugar was king." There is much about the slave trade and its attendant abuses and accounts of the insurrections of the negroes. One episode connected with the colonization of the islands is of interest at the moment. Following the year 1680, Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, made a movement toward the entry among nations of Brandenburg as a colonial and sea power, by making arrangements with Denmark for a West Indian sugar experiment to the end of gaining a permanent foothold in St. Thomas. The account of the affair is excellent reading. Professor H. Morse Stephens says in the preface that no Danish scholar has written the history of these islands and that it should be a matter of pride that the first scholar to go to Denmark and secure the old archives of the islands from the files of the Danish West India and Guinea Company is an American, a son of a Danish family which emigrated to North Dakota. Dr. Westergaard received his training in history at the University of California. He is at present Assistant Professor of History at Pomona College.

Russian Court Memoirs. Anon. Dutton. 515 pp. Ill. \$5.

A series of personal impressions of court, political, and social life in Petrograd by a native Russian of the inner circle. While the book is written frankly from a monarchical point of view, no reactionary measures are advocated, but rather a middle course, the shaping of Russia into a constitutional monarchy. It is the author's opinion that the Russian people are in the main temperamentally unfit for a republican form of government. But that was in 1914. The picture of society in Petrograd in that year seems, however, to prefigure the ensuing state of political affairs. "Society," he writes, "resembles a ship that has lost its helmsman and drifts in different directions according to each change of wind." There is a sympathetic sketch of the ex-Czar and his children, but the former Czarina is criticized for her associations with wandering monks, of whom Rasputin was a notorious example. There are chapters on Russian history, anecdotes of statesmen, generals, and politicians, impressions of American women in Russian society, of the Foreign Office, the press, and of the first shock of the war. The illustrations give added interest to these piquant pen sketches.

A History of Williams College. By Leverett Wilson Spring. Houghton, Mifflin. 341 pp. \$3.

This is a well-written and appropriately illustrated history of the college in the Berkshire Mountains of western Massachusetts. Any history of Williams must necessarily be largely given up to biographical sketches of personalities who as presidents and professors have built up the institution. Although always a small college, relatively speaking, Williams has, throughout its history, exerted an influence in the nation out of all proportion to its size.

The Literary History of Spanish America. By Alfred Cooster. Macmillan. 495 pp. \$2.50.

This is a pioneer work, at least so far as American scholarship is concerned. It is stated in the preface that only two really valuable works by Spanish-American authors exist in the United States, one in the library of the Hispanic Society of America, in New York City; the other in the library of Harvard University. Although neither of these is complete, each in a measure supplements the other. With the exception of the histories of the literature of the several countries written by natives of Argentina, Venezuela, and Uruguay, the field has not been worked. This writer begins with chapters on the colonial and revolutionary periods, and proceeds with treatment of each country separately.

The Insurrection in Dublin. By James Stephens. Macmillan. 148 pp. \$1.25.

This little book is not so much a history of the Irish insurrection of last year, as a disclosure of the mind and temper of the revolutionists. In fact, the book was written in Dublin at the very time of the insurrection, which is attributed to certain political leaders who gave pledges for Ireland to England which they had no right to give. Mr. Stephens advises Irishmen not to talk of Ireland as a nation until they make her one.

Parliamentary Reminiscences and Reflections: 1868 to 1885. By the Rt. Hon. Lord George Hamilton. Dutton. 344 pp. \$4.

Lord George Hamilton began his public career as a Tory and Free-trader in the days of Benjamin Disraeli and remained continuously in public life until 1906. The present volume covers rather less than half of that period, during which the author was on terms of personal acquaintance with every British political and social leader.

My Life and Work. By Edmund Knowles Muspratt. Lane. 320 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

The author of this work has been for many years a leading figure in social and political life of Liverpool. Among the celebrities of whom he gives accounts are Charles Dickens, Samuel Lover, Sheridan Knowles, and Charlotte Cushman. In early life the author studied with the great German chemist, Liebig, whom he regarded as "in many respects one of the greatest men of the nineteenth century."

Stevenson: How to Know Him. By Richard Ashley Rice. Bobbs-Merrill. Portrait. 395 pp. \$1.25.

Even those who know Stevenson best will find interest and the freshness of warm appreciation in "Robert Louis Stevenson: How to Know Him," by Richard Ashley Rice, Professor of English Literature at Smith College. The introductory chapter, "The Companionable Author," is one of the best appreciations and tributes to Stevenson that we have in modern literature. The second chapter, "Child's Play," makes one see Stevenson as a real dweller in the immortal Story-book World, who spent a few years in our unhealthy, practical climate for the delectation of all children, those in years and the grown-up ones, too. Whatever Stevenson did and wherever he was, his eyes were forever turned toward some world where there was time for "play," where "make-believe" was true simply because one chose to have it so. Of the later days in the South Sea islands at Vailima, he has much to say that is constructive. What he meant to the Samoan chiefs, as a man and a friend, is given a larger interpretation and ripens what he calls—a most perfect acknowledgment of Stevenson's citizenship in the world.

Timely Recollections. By Reverend John Shearme. Lane. 320 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

This unpretentious book of reminiscences is truly delightful. The reverend John Shearme, Honorable Canon of Winchester, was born in Cothill, Stratton, North Cornwall, in 1842. His recollections therefore cover a period from the days of highway robbery to the present time. Some of the most interesting years of his life were spent as vicar of Ryde, a large parish on the Isle of Wight. His pictures of famous personalities have a fine flavor. Among them are Gladstone, Lord Tennyson, Elizabeth of Austria, Emperor Francis Joseph, Empress Eugenie, and Queen Vic-

toria, whom he last saw lying in state before her funeral in the royal lodge at Osborne.

My Reminiscences. By Rabindranath Tagore. Macmillan. 273 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

Personality. By Rabindranath Tagore. Macmillan. 220 pp. Ill. \$1.35.

"My Reminiscences," by Sir Rabindranath Tagore, tells the story of his inner life from childhood to maturity and presents in a series of vivid pictures the evolution and growth of his literary genius. It is a fascinating narrative and an almost necessary commentary upon the peculiar content of Tagore's mystical writings.

In a volume of essays collected under the title "Personality," Tagore analyzes man's joy in art, the mystery of personality, man's second birth into the extra-natural world, and impresses the truth that to establish perfect relationship with the moral world is life. Other papers describe his school for boys at Bolpur, India, ideals of education, and women's place in the modern world. One must bear in mind, while reading Tagore, the difference between the Eastern and Western mind. The mind of the East is a mirror that reflects the universe, while the dynamic Western mind more closely resembles that fountain in the pleasure domain of Kubla Khan, "with ceaseless turmoil seething." Tagore writes as he lives, in "the spirit of oneness which goes beyond the thoughts of the mind." Of this soul consciousness the Isha Upanishat has said: "It moves. It moves not. It is in the distant. It is in the near. It is within all. It is outside all."

Stray Birds. By Rabindranath Tagore. Macmillan. 91 pp. \$1.50.

Typical sayings of the Bengali poet, aphorisms of such concentrated thought and beauty that they could easily in many cases be expanded into lengthy poems or essays.

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND ENTERPRISE

Religion In a World War. By George Hodges. Macmillan. 103 pp. \$1.

Eight sermons for the average man and woman that outline the position of the church in the present war, and sturdily battle for the permanent ideals of the race. Dean Hodges analyzes war in general, and the present war from a basis furnished by the report of Mr. Bryce's commission on the conduct of the war in Belgium. He reminds the church that Christianity is a militant religion and that Sir Philip Sidney's advice was sound: "When you hear of a good war go to it . . ." But it is the interior war in man's personality that we must first subdue. The subjective battle, before the objective, the victory over Beelzebub, the "god of flies . . . the devil of petty annoyances, of trifling irritations, of our besetting sins, of the difficulties of the common life." A most stimulating book that can be read to mental, moral, and spiritual profit.

***The Religions of the World.** By George A. Barton. The University of Chicago. 349 pp. \$1.50.

A terse, well-written text-book packed with the facts concerning the great religions of the world. An outline is given of the religions of Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt—the faiths of the Hebrews, Judaism, Mohammedanism, Zoroastrianism, the religions of China, Japan, India, Greece, Rome, and of Christianity. Through the condensation and clarity of the material the student will easily perceive the psychological unity of man, the nature and universality of religion, and become familiar with beliefs common to all religions.

The Sympathy of Religions. By George R. Dodson. The Beacon Press. 339 pp. \$1.25.

One of the best books the person who is despondent over the spectacle of a world at war

can read. To all who believe in the necessity of the revitalization of the Christian religion and in the long lines of comprehension of truth which we see "converging to a new unity of civilized and humanized thought on the heights," this eloquent interpretation of the spiritual values of six leading religions will bring gladness and inspiration. It includes many quotations from Pláto, Emerson, the Vedas, and from Buddhist sages.

Do We Need a New Idea of God? By Edmund H. Reeman. George W. Jacobs & Co., Philadelphia. 214 pp. \$1.

The author reads human history as a long and painful search after God and a continual reaching after goodness on the part of men. His book brings God out of abstractions and down to the average man in the street, to the workers of the world who need a divine comradeship, a Friend, the sense of at-onement with God. This conception of God as the master spirit of struggle, the "eternal toiler" of the universe, is shown to be in line with the facts of modern experience. Mr. Reeman writes: "Religion is not a matter of saving the soul for the future; it is a matter of actual identity here and now with God in the struggle of life."

A Confusion of Tongues. By Paul Revere Frothingham. Houghton, Mifflin. 256 pp. \$1.25.

Mr. Frothingham feels that we have been living in an unfamiliar world since 1914. While men are dying everywhere and millions of persons suffering mental and physical strain in the performance of their duties, we cannot turn our thoughts from the war, but our spirits still have need of a wider range in the contemplation of eternal principles and ideals. The aspects of life as affected by the war are presented in this series of comforting essay sermons.

We Believe. By Paul Revere Frothingham. Boston: The Beacon Press. 117 pp. 90 cents.

A small volume of eloquent sermons called forth by the revival meetings held in Boston in 1916-17 under the leadership of the Rev. William Sunday. They are: "The Fatherhood of God," "The Brotherhood of Man," "The Leadership of Jesus," "Salvation by Character," and "The Progress of Mankind."

The New English Translation of the Bible. Jewish Publication Society. Gift Edition, India paper, leather binding, \$5.

This new English translation of the Bible has been made to satisfy a twofold need, that of a translation based upon the most recent results of scientific research, and the natural desire of the Jews to secure a translation which should be the work of the representative scholars of the Jewish faith. The translation is modeled after the style of the Authorized and Revised versions and is divided according to Jewish tradition into three divisions: Law (Torah Pentateuch), Prophets (Nebi'in), Writings (Ketubin). In matters where Assyriology, archaeology, zoology, and botany can speak authoritatively, this new translation presents the latest results of investigation. The arrangement of the biblical books follows the Jewish order. Ruth, Lamentations, and Daniel are

all placed among the division of Writings, not among the Prophets, as in non-Jewish versions. The late Dr. Solomon Schechter was elected to the chairmanship of the committee in charge of the translation, succeeding the late Dr. Marcus Jastrow. This committee was merged in a Board of Editors, of which Dr. Cyrus Adler was chairman. The sections of the Pentateuch which are traditionally read on the Sabbath are indicated and also all readings for feast days and fast days.

The Story of Bible Translations. By Max L. Margolis. Jewish Publication Society. 129 pp. Ill.

The author confines his work to the translations of the Hebrew Scriptures. As early as the second century it became necessary to render the sacred tongue of the Hebrew priests into the dialect understood by the unlearned. The rabbis called the translations Targum, which at first consisted only of an oral simplification of the text. Later the Targum became specifically the Aramaic version. Among the famous versions is the Targum of Babylonia, which is called Onkelos, after the proselyte who did the work. Other Targums are described, also the Septuagint and later Greek versions, ancient Christian translations, translations in the Middle Ages, those of the Reformation, and modern translations. Additional chapters reveal the inherent difficulties of Bible translation and enumerate the various agencies for the circulation of the Scriptures.

An African Trail. By Jean Kenyon Mackenzie. West Medford, Mass.: Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions. 222 pp. Ill. 30 cents.

African Adventures. By Jean Kenyon Mackenzie. West Medford, Mass.: Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions. 30 cents.

Jean Kenyon Mackenzie, whose missionary letters from the west coast of Africa were published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, and later in a volume under the title of "Black Sheep," has written a text-book on the approach of the Gospel to primitive peoples, entitled "The African Trail." It is presented to the public by the Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions, of which Mrs. Henry W. Peabody is chairman. The chapter headings are: "The White Man in Africa," "The Bulu," "The Bulu and God," "The Ten Tyings" (the Ten Commandments), "The New Tribe," and "The New Custom." There is not in existence any other missionary text-book that presents with such power the underlying psychology of certain African tribes. Miss Mackenzie has also written a junior study book, "African Adventures," a marvelous story of the jungle and of the beauty of the simple Christian faith of African children.

Judging from the narratives of this experienced missionary, the conversion of a native black in West Africa is not an emotional religious experience, but an adventure of the reason or will, or an economic investiture, a regeneration, built up from the basis of the primal things of his old wisdom, a new "ten tyings," that must constitute his honor and become the secret of his service.

Church Advertising. Arranged by W. B. Ashley. Lippincott. 200 pp. Ill. \$1.

A book that is a life-saver for the church with empty pews. A series of lively discussions of church advertising and publicity methods by authorities on the subject, who presented their views in these papers at the first national conference on church advertising held in Philadelphia in June, 1916. Seemingly nothing has been omitted in the way of church advertising, from the out-of-door devices, steeples, bulletins, etc., to moving pictures and newspaper publicity, that assists in making the

"goods of the other world" desirable to the average man.

In the Wake of the War Canoe. By the Venerable W. H. Collison. E. P. Dutton. 351 pp. Ill. \$1.75.

A missionary's record of forty years' labor among the Indian tribes of northwestern British Columbia, including the Queen Charlotte Islands. The book contains detailed descriptions of these savage tribes and the regions in which they live.

VARIOUS TOPICS

Lighthouses and Lightships of the United States. By George R. Putnam. Houghton, Mifflin. 308 pp. Ill. \$2.

When one thinks of lighthouses and lightships there are certain names that come into the mind on the instant: Grace Darling, the heroine of Longstone Lighthouse on the Farne Islands off the Scottish coast; Robert Stevenson, the great Scotch lighthouse engineer, and his grandson, Robert Louis Stevenson, who sketched his life; Abbie Burgess of the Mount Desert Light, Celia Thaxter of the Isle of Shoals beacon, Abigail Bates and the pretty patriotic story of Minots Ledge, and Meade, the Gettysburg hero, who built the Sand Key Light. The first full and authoritative book on the subject "Lighthouses and Lightships of the United States," by the United States Commissioner of Lighthouses, George R. Putnam, begins with the building of the Boston Light two centuries ago. In a descriptive narrative he takes up the lighthouses of the Atlantic coast, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Pacific, explains the mechanism of the lights, the various improvements in construction, and the romance and adventure connected with each famous light. A supplementary chapter describes famous foreign lighthouses. He says: "The building and the keeping of lights is a picturesque and humanitarian work of the nation." While the great toil of the business machine necessary to maintain this work is not slighted, the romantic aspect of perpetual adventure with the sea fills this book with genuine thrills and recommends it to all classes of readers. The beautiful cuts of the lighthouses and life-saving stations past and present give vivid interest to this admirable record.

The Margin of Happiness. By Thetta Quay Frank. Putnam. 238 pp. \$1.50.

A timely book of lectures suitable for classes in cooking and household efficiency, of great use to all housekeepers and to every one who believes in thrift and in conserving the food supply of the nation. The question of sound nutrition has first place, and a quotation from John Burroughs is used to give emphasis to this important subject:

"Malnutrition is the door through which come most of the foes of our physical system. Our bodily life revolves around the digestive tract, we are built around a gut, and we are never for a moment to forget or ignore that humble, not to say vulgar, fact. A man ideally nourished could defy all the hostile germs that surround him, or lie in wait in his own body."

The Complaint of Peace. By Erasmus, The Open Court. 80 pp. 50 cents.

A translation from the *Querela Pacis* of Erasmus written A. D. 1521, and reprinted from a rare old English version, which is probably the print of 1802, translated by T. Paynell, and published anonymously. The publishers acknowledge indebtedness to Mr. C. K. Ogden, editor of the *Cambridge Magazine*, for calling attention to this timely publication and furnishing typewritten copy. Peace speaks in her own person on the continual racking of the world by war and on the interior wars of the passions that rage in every man's bosom. Every argument that has been advanced by the lovers of peace against militarism and its attendant horrors is cogently stated in this quaint document.

General Types of Superior Men. By Osias L. Schwartz. Badger. 435 pp. \$2.11.

Max Nordau writes in the foreword of a new philosophical and analytical study of genius, "General Types of Superior Men," that the author, Mr. Osias L. Schwarz, is "Isaiah holding forth on the structure of modern society and on the barrenness and wickedness of the souls of contemporary men." Jack London commended the book as the reasoning of an intensely original thinker, who is not afraid to touch upon the fierce class struggle that threatens to strangle human progress. It is vastly stimulating reading and much can be gathered from its torrential attack upon Philistinism. Nietzsche's shadow falls over the exposition of genius. The familiar Superman emerges in the contrasts of genius and Philistinism. We discover our superior man via Locke's method, but we perceive some incomprehensibilities in the flowing process of his construction once the reflective intellect gets to work. One takes it that humanism in the philosophical sense and also in the social sense constitutes Mr. Schwartz's religion. His ideas would have been promulgated to better effect if the material had been divided between two or more volumes. They aim at genuine constructiveness, toward the shaping of a higher type of humanity.

Desk-Book of 25,000 Words Frequently Mispronounced. By Frank H. Vizetelly. Funk & Wagnalls. 906 pp. \$1.60.

This desk-book gives the correct pronunciation of English words, foreign terms, Bible name, personal names, geographical and proper names of all kinds current in literature besides many

others that have proved stumbling blocks to the unwary. It is offered as the most complete consensus of English pronunciation that has ever been compiled and examination of the work will quickly prove its great value. The introductory material might well be printed and cast broadside in pamphlet form as an aid to the correction of the habit of slovenly speech.

The Finger-Print Instructor. By Frederick Kuhne. Munn & Co. 155 pp. Ill. \$2.

The method of identification by finger prints is now widely established both in this country and abroad, and is constantly coming into more general use. Wherever identification is needed, not only by police departments, but by private corporations and institutions for their clients and employees, the finger-print method commends itself for its efficiency and low cost of installation. The "Finger-Print Instructor," by Frederick Kuhne, of the Bureau of Criminal Identification of the New York City Police Department, furnishes an elementary and practical manual that will be of value both to the expert and the layman interested in the subject. Numerous illustrations accompany the text.

Surnames. By Ernest Weekley. Dutton. 364 pp. \$2.25.

There is scarcely any study so fascinating, or one which offers such intellectual reward, as the study of the sources of different kinds of names. This volume treats with great thoroughness certain groups of surnames, many of which have not been previously explained. The index contains six thousand names, including some French and German and a few from other countries, and the body of the book almost an equal number. One interesting chapter explains the Shakespearean type of surname which is common to all European related languages. This volume and two previous studies by Professor Weekley, "The Romance of Words" and "The Romance of Names," should be in every home library.

Rings. By George Frederick Kunz. Lippincott. Ill. 381 pp. \$6.50.

A veritable encyclopedia of fascinating lore connected with rings. All kinds of rings from the earliest historic times are described and pictured, those found in Egyptian mummy caskets, Celtic mounds and Babylonian tombs, rings worn by kings and prelates, used in religious ceremonies, and those hiding in museums and in the cabinets of private collectors. The rings of famous men and women are described, also rings that have served as charms and talismans, or have other romantic history. One chapter relates legends of certain rings of healing that even nuns were permitted to wear in case of illness. Stories, fables, and medieval tales complete this remarkable volume, which is one of a trilogy on jewels. The previous volumes are "The Curious Lore of Precious Stones" and "The Magic of Jewels and Charms." Reproductions of paintings of persons wearing rings are included in the 220 illustrations in color, double-tone, and line.

Domestic Architecture. By L. Eugene Robinson. Macmillan. 378 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

Although a text-book of architecture, this book

has to do almost altogether with the simple, every-day things about the house, and its suggestions are meant as much for the owner and builder as for the professional architect. The author deals with a great number of perplexing problems in connection with the construction and maintenance of houses—problems that are sure to present themselves sooner or later to every householder and a clear understanding of which would have saved many a builder from unnecessary vexation.

The Healthful House. By Lionel Robertson and T. C. O'Donnell. Battle Creek, Mich. Good Health Publishing Co. 191 pp. Ill. \$2.

The authors of this book have not confined themselves to details of hygiene and sanitation, as these terms are commonly understood. They have attempted rather to emphasize "the health importance of beautiful colors and beautiful lines and masses, beautiful wall and floor coverings, equally with fresh air and light—in short, to present to the reader a house that is healthful because it satisfies the demands of hygienic and esthetic sense alike."

Saving and Investing Money. By Thos. E. Sanders. The Thrift Publishing Co. \$1.

Ten lessons in thrift for the person in humble circumstances who must be cautious in the investment of his savings. Specific instructions are given about different securities.

Decorative Elements in Architecture. William Francklyn Paris, L. H. D. Lane. 152 pp. Ill. \$5.

A series of essays emphasizing the relative importance of interior embellishment. There are one hundred page illustrations printed as inserts.

Foster's Auction Bridge For All. By R. F. Foster. Stokes. 220 pp. \$1.

A strictly up-to-date book containing the new rules that have become necessary with the elimination of the old spade bid, and the laws fixing new bidding values. A book useful to beginner, to the average player and to the expert.

Foster's Pirate Bridge. By R. F. Foster. Dutton. 189 pp. \$1.50.

A variant of "Bridge" which distributes the privilege of picking the partner who could best support the trump or who could offer the best defense against it. This game was first introduced in this country at the Knickerbocker Whist Club in the Autumn of 1916. It met with an enthusiastic reception and has been tried out by all classes of players.

The Complete Auction Player. By Florence Irwin. Putnam. 381 pp. \$1.50.

All the essentials of a high-grade game, and advices to beginners by an author of several books on the game who is an instructor of unexcelled merit.

Expert Auction. By E. V. Shephard. Harper & Bros. 245 pp. \$1.25.

An excellent, practical book by an Auction expert. He shows how expert players actually

bid and play their hands and calls attention to the basic scientific principles of the game. It is suited to the needs of both beginners and finished players.

Lake and Stream and Game Fishing. By Dixie Carroll. Verse by Albert J. Cook. Stewart Kidd. 250 pp. Ill. \$1.75.

A book of fish and fishing conceived in the spirit of Izaak Walton but actually written in the modern vernacular of the disciples of the rod and

reel. A delightful book to read if you do not fish. The amusing introduction is by Jack Lait.

Through the Year With Thoreau. Edited by Herbert Gleason. Houghton, Mifflin. 135 pp. \$1.

A beautiful gift book illustrated with many photographs of places and objects described by Thoreau, accompanied with selections from his writings. A book for every nature lover, one that gives intimacy with "sights, sounds, and fragrances, that put together convince us of our immortality."

NOVELS WHOSE SCENES ARE LAID IN NEW ENGLAND

EDITH WHARTON draws a grim picture of New England in her story "Summer."¹ Even the ordinary reader will question the uncompromising texture of life in the village of North Dormer. And if that is incomprehensible, what of the "Mountain," that community of outlaws, ne'er-do-wells, and drunken vagabonds set in the fastnesses of the hills fifteen miles from this sedate New England hamlet? The characters seem drawn in the flat; they are two-dimensional so far as their emotions go. All the joy and pleasantness and tenderness has been extracted from their lives with a hand so skilled in literary portraiture that the sentences bite like the acids of the etcher. Charity Royall, a girl of the "Mountain," rescued in infancy from degrading surroundings and brought up in North Dormer, reverts to old blood strains and flees the monotony and repression of her narrow life to seek one care-less summer of rapture with the first young man who chances to happen her way. She has her summer and pays toll to heredity. Then the grip of engrafted conventions strangles her impulses to do the fine thing when the young man leaves her to follow his own path; the animal instinct of the wild creature asserts itself and she seeks safety in marriage with the elderly man who rescued her in childhood from the "Mountain."

It is a sordid story. Possibly Mrs. Wharton has a distinct object in dragging to the light the worst side of a disappearing rural life. Possibly her exquisite descriptive passages contrasted with the delineation of the clutching ugliness of these country districts point the way to necessary missionary work which shall restore equilibrium. It has been said since this novel was published that no community similar to the "Mountain" has been known to exist in New England. In justice to Mrs. Wharton, it is only fair to state that but one remove from New England, in New York, there were just such communities before transportation problems had been solved and the country opened up by the use of the cheap automobiles. She has portrayed the sullen wildness and clannishness of the natives with extraordinary fidelity and she is correct in her statement that the only outside

force that touched them at all was that of religion.

The splendid quality of Alice Brown's novel, "Bromley Neighborhood,"² becomes more apparent on a second reading when the consideration of idealistic values assumes first importance. Ellen Brock, the lively girl whose love story forms the major part of the tale, has no kinship with Mrs. Wharton's Charity Royall. She is a sturdy New England girl, earthly in the strong, repressed way of her kind, a brown beauty "red under the warmth of her cheeks." If her love story and those of the other young people who whirl through the pages are strangely unreal, the larger interests of the narrative give recompense. There is the war as a background and a glimpse of the rapidly changing consciousness of America. There is Mary Neale with her unswerving devotion to her family, the inimitable silhouette of Aunt Tab, that eccentric maiden lady, whose nature reflects twin rays of madness and common sense. And Larry Greene, the quiescent gentleman of Bromley, who wrote and played the violin, and dreamed that the men and women of Bromley would arise and give him the neighborhood again as it was in its dignified and gracious past. When he speaks of the war's arousing men to vision the preciousness of their heritage, it is the novelist herself who assumes the character.

"He had done black and white studies of New England men and women, the spirit of the thing he could not summon. But now he began to see the vision of life more clearly, to hear her actual voice. He saw—and the war had made him see—how men are linked together, not in sentimental brotherhood that riots in strikes and class hatred and will not stand gigantic sacrificial tests, but linked by the winds, by the sun, by the stars, by the fiat of what we call God."

The potent essence of old New England and of the New England of to-day lies in the fact emphasized in "Bromley Neighborhood," that the men of this section—forebears down to the newest stock—have never been content to be citizens of the earth only. What else was Puritanism? A very fine novel, a better sermon on the recovery of the lost values of American citizenship.

¹ Summer. By Edith Wharton. Appleton. 291 pp. \$1.50.

² Bromley Neighborhood. By Alice Brown. Macmillan. 418 pp. \$1.50.



FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—THE POSITION OF THE EXCHANGES OF THE WORLD

THE period of the war when economic conditions play as large, if not a more important part than the military, has been reached. For instance, much attention is now being given in the state departments to the regular loss of gold by the German Reichsbank. For nearly three years there was a steady gain, but the value of the mark has constantly declined. Finally, Germany has been forced to part with some of her treasure to maintain her credit in neutral countries, as Switzerland, Holland, and the Scandinavian nations. She has also been forced to give gold to Turkey and Bulgaria. The exchange situation in Russia is very serious. Only a little less so is that of Italy. The ruble has been at a discount of over 60 per cent., and the lira is 40 per cent. below the normal parity of 19.3. France has been unable to hold up her exchange. Sterling has been "pegged" for months. In Switzerland, American dollars are at a discount.

Spanish exchange, in peace times about the weakest of the continental exchanges, has been at a premium ever since the Germans crossed the French frontier in 1914 and transfers of credits from France to Spain began. One of the curious phases of this situation is that, although Spain owes the United States nearly \$50,000,000 on trade balance, there has been a heavy flow of gold from this country to Spain. This undoubtedly represents payments on triangular operations, as England to Spain through the United States.

Germany

The exchanges are reflecting the great cost of the war and the increased issue of paper currency. This obviously is the trouble with the mark. Germany has been on a paper basis longer than the others and to a greater degree. She has had difficulty in buying outside of her boundaries, except in the neutral countries contiguous, and there on a scale below normal. On the other hand, she has been unable to export to them, as what she manufactured she needed for home consumption. So the balance has been heavily against

her at these points. Unquestionably there has been considerable liquidation of commercial debts with securities. That is why in Holland, for instance, it is possible to-day to buy American or German stocks and bonds, formerly held by German investors, at a large discount from New York prices.

Russia

Russia has no securities to sell except those of her own creation. In these, on account of the speculative possibilities of the ruble, there has been a large commitment through New York and London. It is estimated that several hundred million dollars' worth of ruble bonds were taken in this country last year. In addition, about \$300,000,000 of ruble exchange was bought by these two markets on the supposition that the war would not last long and that rubles at the first heavy discount after the war began were a great speculative chance. It has turned out differently. They have been dropping month by month until now they are about 21 against the normal of 51.50. Political conditions since the revolution have caused liquidation of speculative accounts so there is no recovery and no further buying for either investment or speculation.

Italy

The lira is quoted 7.40 when it should be 5.18. There are conditions affecting Italian exchange that do not operate against the others. In peace times, Italy receives possibly \$100,000,000 a year in remittances from her sons and daughters in the United States and in the South American countries. Now this flow has been stopped. There are also no tourists' payments, which amounted to another \$100,000,000. Instead, the Italian Government is compelled to remit to America in payment to families of soldiers fighting against Austria.

Austria

Very little is known, by the way, of the conditions of Austrian finance. There have been no statements of the Austrian Govern-

ment Bank since the war began. No transactions have occurred in Austrian crowns from the day war was declared on Germany. At that time Austrian exchange was in a state of decomposition. It is told of an American contractor who had construction work under way in Austria when the war started three years ago that he was able to take such advantage of the depreciation in exchange on Vienna as to cut the cost of his buildings down from \$250,000 to \$175,000. American bonds held in Vienna have been sold in New York at the equivalent to the owner of 25 points above the market price.

Europe's Debt to America

What the different countries of Europe owe the United States on the basis of trade relations in the eleven months to May 31 is as follows:

Denmark	\$46,000,000
France	813,000,000
Greece	11,200,000
Italy	278,000,000
Holland	78,000,000
Norway	66,000,000
Russia	392,000,000
Spain	49,000,000
Sweden	20,000,000
Switzerland	3,000,000
United Kingdom.....	1,050,000,000

Since the fiscal year 1915 there have been almost no relations with Austria-Hungary and very small transactions with Germany. The exports to Germany for the eleven months, of \$2,196,000, compare with \$283,000 last year and represent the commercial U-boat cargoes. In 1916 the exports to Denmark were larger than they have been this year, but those to Holland have increased \$17,000,000, or about 20 per cent., and those to Spain \$25,000,000, or 50 per cent. Shipments to Sweden have diminished. Those to Switzerland have about trebled. Ordinarily, the United States is debtor to Switzerland on trade account quite a considerable sum.

The Neutral Exchanges

With the decision of the United States Government to limit shipments to neutral countries the exchange situation in Scan-

dinavian countries and in Holland may undergo a change. The premium against New York of 15 per cent. or more is, as will be seen by the foregoing table, not due to direct trade relations, for these are all against Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Here again the triangular operation has been most influential in creating the premium. The fact that sterling exchange is not natural, but is held at a certain point of advantage to the British Government in her great purchasing program in the United States, exaggerates the position of neutral exchanges, for it permits of arbitrage. Then again the gold holdings of all the neutrals have been increasing while those of the belligerents have been falling. The gains have been so large that one of these nations enforced a law against further gold imports. Prices of securities have been inflated.

While the United States $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Liberty bonds are at a discount and 4 and 5 per cent. war bonds of Great Britain, France and Germany are much below par, the Swedish $3\frac{1}{2}$ s are at 112. Scandinavian banks were buyers of a portion of the last Government issue of \$300,000,000 $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. treasury certificates of indebtedness. It pays them well to sell their domestic securities and buy the American short-term papers. Swiss bankers have been among the foreign buyers of American investment issues.

Germany's Economic Future

Getting back to the original proposition that economic conditions are being watched with more concern than military operations, it must be obvious that a crack in the financial structure of the Central Powers has already been made and that it will widen until it becomes a threatening fissure. If it were not for the resources of the United States, it would be equally ominous for Russia and Italy, for the advances of \$4,000,000,000 made by Great Britain to her allies have been a serious strain. These allowances will rapidly be absorbed by this country. Michaelis, the new German Chancellor, is quoted as having said that the economic future of Germany is now of more concern than territorial gain. This future grows darker each month.

II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

In the August issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS some out-of-date figures relating to the cost of the war to the United States were inadvertently used.

On August 1, the United States extended additional credits of \$185,000,000 to Great Britain and \$160,000,000 to France; and on August 2, made a loan of \$2,500,000 to Belgium—the latter in addition to the credit of \$45,000,000, established in June. These additional loans and credits brought the total of all loans made by the United States to all its Allies up to \$1,870,500,000. Of this total Great Britain received \$955,000,000, France \$430,000,000, and Belgium \$47,500,000.

Later estimates place the total cost of the war for the United States for the first year at \$18,000,000,000.

No. 861—HOW TO BUY INVESTMENT BONDS

In the June number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS on page 113 a list of investments is given which you appear to endorse. Will it be possible for you to put me in communication with these different companies? I am looking for reliable investments for a few thousand dollars.

We presume you refer to the following bonds mentioned by a correspondent whose inquiry we answered in the July issue:

Armour & Company 4½ per cent., Dominion of Canada 5 per cent. of 1931, Commonwealth-Edison 5 per cent., Union Pacific refunding 4 per cent., and American Telephone & Telegraph collateral trust 4 per cent. bonds.

It is true that we consider bonds like these suitable for conservative investment. It would not be possible, however, for you to buy them or any securities like them direct from the issuing companies. The way to make such investment is through some reliable investment banking firm. We suggest that you get in direct personal touch with some banking house of good standing. Such a house, if unable to obtain for you these specific securities, would undoubtedly be able to supply investments of equally high average quality.

No. 862—THE DECLINE IN A REPRESENTATIVE ISSUE OF PUBLIC UTILITY BONDS

Some weeks ago Detroit-Edison 5 per cent. refunding bonds due in 1940 were selling at 101½, now they are quoted five or six points below that price. Can you tell me if this drop is because they are not considered safe? I would like to know also if these bonds are subject to a tax of any kind.

In our opinion the recent decline in the market price of the Detroit-Edison bonds has been due rather more to general market conditions than to the development of anything reflecting seriously upon the underlying position of the bonds as an investment.

While the Detroit-Edison Company, in common with almost every public utility company, has had its earnings adversely affected by the rising costs of practically everything entering into operation, we think about the worst has been seen in this

respect and that definite improvement ought to be noticeable before very long.

It is our understanding that the Detroit-Edison Company covenants to pay the normal federal income tax on these bonds, and that they are also free of the personal property tax in the hands of holders legally resident in the State of Michigan.

No. 863—WHAT THE NEW WESTERN PACIFIC SECURITIES ARE WORTH

I owned some of the old Western Pacific 5 per cent. bonds. By adding to my cash investment, I received new securities in the reorganization. Will you kindly tell me what these securities are now worth and whether the reorganized road is making progress.

For each of your old Western Pacific bonds upon payment of the subscription called for in the reorganization plan you received, we believe, \$400 par value of new bonds, \$550 par value of new preferred stock and \$950 par value of new common stock. The new bonds are now quoted at about 85, which would represent a value of \$347 for your holdings; the new preferred stock at about 46, representing a value of \$253 for your holdings, and the new common stock at 16, representing a value of \$152 for your holdings, or a total of \$779. These quotations are nominal, but seem to represent, with fair accuracy at least, what might be obtained if you were to undertake to sell under prevailing market conditions.

We find that the Western Pacific as reorganized has been making fairly satisfactory progress in the development of earnings, and in view of this we think if we were in your place we should not consider the disposition of the bonds and stocks at the present time.

No. 864—B. F. GOODRICH COMMON STOCK

I would like to have you tell me something about the common stock of the B. F. Goodrich Company, especially its dividend record and its general position as an investment.

Our records show that dividends on this stock were paid at the rate of 4 per cent per annum, or, in other words, 1 per cent. quarterly, from August, 1912, to February, 1913, inclusive. In May, 1913, the common dividend was passed and was not resumed until 1916, since which time it has been 4 per cent. per annum.

The company's surplus for the year 1916, after the payment of the 4 per cent. common dividend, amounted to over \$5,000,000. This represents a very safe margin for normal times, and, in our judgment, would ordinarily entitle the stock to a good rating. There are, however, so many uncertainties in the general industrial situation at the present time that no stock of this character can, in our judgment, be properly regarded as an investment, unless, perchance, as a business investment for one able to keep in constant personal touch with developments in the issuing company's affairs and with the general market situation.

